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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE CHANGELING

"A PRISON HAS BECOME A TEMPLE OF HONOUR" (Gladstone)
"FORCE IS NO REMEDY".
"GOVERNMENT BY CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED".
WOMAN SUFFRAGE
COERCION
A PATRIOT.

THE CALAMITY WHICH HAS BEFALLEN THE HOUSE OF LIBERALISM

(Mr. Asquith has substituted for the traditional Liberal policy of extending the Franchise the illiberal principle of coercion)

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Our Cartoon	405
The Outlook	405
Our Christening Party	406
George Lansbury Summoned to Bow Street	407
Government Attack on Free Speech	408
The Government and Mr. Pethick Lawrence	409
Conference on Forcible Feeding	409
Release of Mrs. Pankhurst	410
The Suffrage Bill	410
Cat and Mouse Bill	410
New Books	411
Why Not Justice?	412
The Coping-Stone of the Constitution: Extracts from a Speech. By Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	413
Mass Meeting at the Albert Hall	414
Yorkshire Women Liberals	414
The Revolutionary Campaign	415
Questions in the House	416
Plural Voting Bill	416
Strong Indictments of Liberalism	416
Correspondence	417
The Church and Woman Suffrage	418
Woman Suffrage in America	418
General News	419

DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

A question was to be asked in the House of Commons on Thursday afternoon, after we had gone to press, as to the date of the second reading debate on the Woman Suffrage Bill. It was anticipated that the Prime Minister would allot two days before the Whitsuntide recess.

Stupid Action of the Government

An announcement was made on Tuesday night that the Government had determined to prohibit all meetings of the W.S.P.U. in Hyde Park, Wimbledon Common, and other "public open spaces in the Metropolitan area." The announcement was conveyed in the form of a letter by Sir Edward Henry, the Commissioner of Police, to the secretary of the W.S.P.U. This stupid move, which raises again the whole question of the right of free speech, has been hailed with acclamation by the *Standard*, the *Globe*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the *Morning Post*, which hopes the principle thus established will be extended to meetings of strikers and others; on the other hand, it is viewed askance by the *Daily News* and other Liberal organs. It formed the subject of questions in the House on Wednesday afternoon, and was to be discussed on the motion for adjournment after we had gone to press. Our own views will be found in our leading article this week.

George Lansbury Summoned

Following upon "intelligent anticipation" in the columns of the daily Press, the Government have also determined to take proceedings against Mr. George Lansbury. He has been summoned to appear this (Friday) morning at Bow Street to show cause why he should not be bound over and give sureties to keep the peace and abstain from conduct and language "calculated to bring about a violation of the law." This action has been taken, it is assumed, in consequence of Mr. Lansbury's speech at the Albert Hall on Thursday in last week. In order that our readers may understand the position, we give the text of all the salient parts of Mr. Lansbury's speech verbatim, but as the case is pending we refrain from comment.

Bankruptcy Proceedings Against Mr. Pethick Lawrence

From the writ of which we give the text in another column it will be seen that the Government are proposing to commence bankruptcy proceedings against Mr. Pethick Lawrence to recover the sum claimed by the Director of Public Prosecutions on account of the costs of prosecuting him and other defendants in May of last year. The Government will no doubt argue that this process is undertaken in the ordinary course of law. A single fact disposes of this contention, and shows that the action of the Government is of a purely political character. The amount was first claimed in July, 1912, and in such a hurry were the Government then to obtain the money that they could not wait till Mr. Lawrence returned from Canada, where he had gone to recover his health, but they must needs put bailiffs into his house in his absence. When, however, the sale of his furniture was effected in October and realised only £300 the Government *took no further action for close on five months*, neither sending in any statement of claim nor making any demand for the balance. Had the matter been a purely legal one this would undoubtedly have been done. But it did not suit their political purpose. Now that the political circum-

stances are different they are setting the legal machinery in motion.

The Release of Mrs. Pankhurst

After a hunger strike of nine days, in the course of which she was reduced to a very grave condition, Mrs. Pankhurst has been released from prison "on license." The terms of the license state that she must keep the police in constant information of her movements, must return to prison on April 28, and that if she does not do so she will be re-arrested. In this form we have a foretaste of the method which the "Cat and Mouse" Bill proposes to make universal in the case of hunger-striking Suffrage prisoners. We believe that it has only to be thoroughly understood to be repudiated by all the decent people of the country. There is something nauseating in the idea that the bedside of a human being is to be watched to see when he or she is fit to be hurried away to gaol to undergo a further period of starvation. The fact that the prisoner could avoid all the torture by voluntary submission is quite irrelevant; it applies equally to the martyrs of old, to the prisoners of the Middle Ages—in fact, to all those whose spirit has remained defiant in the face of the diabolical tortures which modern thought universally condemns.

Mr. Franklin Still being Fed by Force

We are glad to see that further action is being taken to call attention to the brutality of forcible feeding in prison. The National Political League were holding a conference on this subject on Thursday after we had gone to press, and they had already published the opinions of a number of representative men condemning the practice, which we give on page 409 of this issue. Mrs. Fawcett has also sent a letter to the press in which she describes it as a "form of torture which ought to be absolutely forbidden." In view of the public feeling which is being everywhere manifested on this question, it is amazing that the Home Office dare to allow a prisoner like young Franklin to continue to be fed by force daily. This barbarity has now been going on for nearly six weeks, and his health has been so shattered that we are informed his friends would scarcely know him. A stop must be put to this, and without delay.

Well Done, Leeds!

We warmly congratulate the Votes for Women Fellows in Leeds upon the admirable organisation and the overwhelming success of their meeting in the Philosophical Hall last Monday. The chair was occupied by the Rev. R. H. Harvey, Rector of Barwick-in-Elmet, Yorkshire, who introduced Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to an audience which filled every available space of the hall. The admission was by ticket only, the price of the seats ranging from two shillings to three pence. Those who came late had to be turned away from the door. The sympathy of the audience was expressed in a practical fashion by a large collection and a remarkable sale of the paper and other literature. The big impetus given to the Movement in Leeds might be given by equally effective organisations in every part of the country where Fellows are to be found. Extracts from Mrs. Lawrence's speech are given on page 413.

The Revolutionary Party

The revolutionary Suffragists, who held a successful meeting at the Albert Hall on Thursday in last week and raised £15,000 for their funds, have further extended their campaign of violence during the week. Telephone and telegraph wires have been cut, cricket pavilions have been burnt down, and on Tuesday last the mansion of Mr. Du Cros, Member of Parliament for Hastings, was completed destroyed by fire. These actions are all more or less openly admitted, and we therefore assume that they are the work of Suffragists. On the other hand, in default of definite evidence, we refuse to credit to the revolutionary Suffrage party the sensational reports of outrages dangerous to life which have appeared in some of the papers, including the firing of a train containing passengers and the attempt to blow up the Bank of England. So far as we can ascertain, the first of these alleged actions appears to be a pure hoax, as the cartridges were all dummy, and possibly the latter may have a similar explanation; if not, we are inclined to attribute it to anarchical elements in the community unconnected with the Suffrage agitation. Wholesale attacks upon property are serious enough, but the deliberate taking of life would be an outrage from which all right-thinking people would surely recoil in horror.

The Belgium Strike and the Westminster Gazette

"Belgium has none but well-wishers in this country, but it is plain to the onlooker that she cannot go on with her existing franchise anomalies, and we can tell her from our own experience that it is wise to yield betimes." So says the sapient *Westminster Gazette*. In another place in the same article, we read, quoted with approval, the statement: "The Government and its supporters seem as proudly incapable of tact and conciliation as was the mediæval aristocracy of the art of writing; but if it holds to an obstinate refusal to make any concessions, disorder is likely to follow which might at any moment plunge the country into a bitter racial civil war. . . . When things have come to this pass it is useless to theorise, and if any moral is to be drawn it can only be that Governments must not let them get to this pass." How wise Liberal newspapers are where foreign countries are concerned!

Mr. Israel Zangwill on Liberal Policy.

We reprint practically in full elsewhere a powerful letter from Mr. Israel Zangwill to the *Nation* in which he denounces the pusillanimous attitude of the Liberal Party to Woman Suffrage. "It has been laxly assumed," he says, "that any Liberal is free to vote for or against Woman Suffrage. As if Liberalism were made by the Liberal Whips!" After showing that Liberalism has always been identified with the enlargement of liberty, he adds: "For Liberalism to suppose that this further widening of the boundaries of human liberty is not peculiarly its business is for Liberalism to commit suicide." And finally, on the immediate political situation, he utters this note of warning to the Party: "If the Suffragist Ministers can neither convert nor depose their chief, nor persuade him to bow like Bonar Law to a Referendum of his followers, then we can only look once more to the Conservative Party to conserve Liberalism."

Mr. Asquith Can Make Amends

In an article in the *Daily News* on Monday Mr. Massingham criticises severely the attitude of the Government on the matter of woman suffrage. "The most serious source of weakness of the Liberal Party," he says, "is that the Government have shut the door on the largest, the most generous, the most attractive, and the most useful of all possible measures of political enfranchisement. . . . . Because of that refusal we endanger social order. We fly to coercion. We cast aside a great mass of intelligence, enthusiasm, honest and capable purpose; the most splendid recruitment of the modern State. What folly! What a tragedy of errors!" He adds that the party is suffering from an error of judgment of Mr. Asquith, which he alone, by frank, generous, and honourable amends, can set right.

Where Women Vote

Three pieces of intelligence from the States of America where women are enfranchised give the lie to the anti-suffrage argument that women do not use the vote when they get it. Firstly, a Mother's Pension Bill to provide for mothers who have children dependent on them has recently been passed in Colorado, Oregon, and Utah. Secondly, in Washington State the Bill providing a minimum wage for women has been carried by an almost unanimous vote; previous to the enfranchisement of women it had been put forward several times and defeated. Thirdly, California has decided to remove the bar placed on married women teachers, and to take into consideration merit alone and not domestic conditions.

Items of Interest

Lord Wolmer is introducing a Bill to enable women to become barristers and solicitors. We doubt whether it has much chance of passing until women get the vote.

As we go to press we learn that Mrs. Drummond is summoned to appear at Bow Street this morning (Friday) on a warrant similar to that served on Mr. Lansbury.

OUR CHRISTENING PARTY

The Reunion of the members of the Fellowship at the Suffolk Galleries, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, promises to be a great success. The idea of a "Christening Party" has been received with enthusiasm, and the suggestions have been taken up with all the energy so characteristic of the workers in our great Movement.

We publish on page 409 a facsimile of the special gift card that will shortly be sent to all the Fellows through the post, together with the card of invitation, which will also be the ticket of admission to the Galleries on May 7.

We have had so many enquiries during the last few days with regard to the object of the Fellowship and the conditions of membership that it seems necessary once again to make a public re-statement in these columns with regard to it.

The Votes for Women Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. Not being a Society, it needs to formulate neither rules nor conditions of membership, but simply the purpose which is to be achieved by active co-operation. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organisation. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage Societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage Movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy.

Its immediate object is to dispel the ignorance that exists in the minds of the public with regard to the great question of the political enfranchisement of women now dominating the political world, to place before the people the true story of both constitutional and militant agitation, and to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

For the accomplishment of this purpose the Fellowship concentrates its energies on extending the circulation and increasing the influence of Votes for Women, the one Suffrage paper which is unconnected with any Suffrage Society, and is able, therefore, to take an independent position and to present a catholic view of the Woman's Movement.

Just as the Fellowship itself does not compete with any existing organisation, so Votes for Women does not compete with any existing Suffrage paper. It serves a different though complementary purpose. The official organs of the various Suffrage Societies naturally direct their main attention to building up their several organisations and rallying their members to that part of the battlefield upon which they are deploying their several regiments. Votes for Women directs its appeal mainly to the outside public, and especially to those whose political or social energies have kept them absorbed in other questions, and who have consequently lost the knowledge and understanding of this Movement that would enable them to understand aright the present political situation, and to deal with it in the right way. It appeals also to women and to men of goodwill who have not yet awakened to the significance of the Movement, and seeks to secure that right apprehension which alone can win sympathy and support. It directs the attention of the nation to the root of the present anarchy, and brings the pressure of criticism to bear upon the sowers of the seed of this bitter harvest.

The Editors of Votes for Women give their services to the paper without remuneration of any kind. That service is their contribution to the Suffrage Movement as a whole. They are pledged to devote any financial profits that may accrue to the further development of the paper. They have invited their readers, and herewith renew the invitation, to enrol themselves in a fellowship of service so that Votes for Women may be brought to the notice and may be put into the hands of the people from end to end of the country, and every new reader may be induced to become a missionary of the truth and a spreader of the light of knowledge and of the new faith in humanity fraught with such great possibilities for the regeneration of the race.

All great achievements spring from faithful attention to details. It is by associated work and by that alone that we can succeed. There are many methods of service. Some of them are suggested in the gift-card to which we have already drawn attention. Others have been enumerated and will often be referred to in these columns. There is room for everybody and scope for all energies. Garibaldi, in the great struggle for Italian Liberation, with his thousand overthrew the alien domination that held Southern Italy in thrall. Yes, but his success depended very largely on the sympathy of the townsfolk and of the rural population in the area of the war—the people who could not leave their homes and their fields to join the army, but were able to render aid to the insurgents and to baffle the armies of repression in countless ways.

There are many battalions in the Suffrage army. They cannot be too warmly supported by the great general public, preoccupied with the bread and butter business of life, and unable to enter into the ranks of the active combatants.

It is the main business of Votes for Women and of the Fellowship to secure the comprehension and sympathy of the general public, and to point out the way in which the great body of public opinion in the country can be brought to bear on the Government to produce the necessary pressure that will force it to put the principles of the British Constitution into practice.

Therefore once more we urge our readers to enter into active co-operation with the Editors and staff of the paper and to enrol their names in the Votes for Women Fellowship as a preliminary step towards this purpose.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To April 15, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	192	10	2
Lady Constance Lytton	1	0	0
Miss Balchin	0	2	6
Mrs. Anderson	1	0	0
Extra on Votes outside Old Bailey, per Miss Thompson	0	0	6
Miss M. H. Smith ...	0	5	0
Mrs. Travis	0	1	0
Mrs. Moore	0	2	0
Miss M. B. Crook ...	0	2	6
Lady Carbutt	25	0	0
Miss Craven	0	2	6
Mr. and Mrs. H. L. White	0	2	0
Miss F. B. Foster ...	0	1	0
Miss M. Bidwell.....	0	2	6
Mrs. and Miss Oruba Langley	0	2	0
"Fonald"	0	2	6
Miss H. E. Sheppard	0	12	6
Mrs. Jenkins	0	2	6
Mrs. Fleming	1	0	0
Mrs. Thomson-Price.	1	5	0
Miss W. Holiday.....	0	12	6
Mrs. Holiday	0	12	6
Total	225	1	2

GEORGE LANSBURY SUMMONED TO BOW STREET

Late on Tuesday evening last, as Mr. Lansbury was leaving a meeting he had been addressing at Canning Town Public Hall, he was served with a summons to appear at Bow Street Police Court on Friday morning (to-day) in answer to a charge of disturbing the peace and inciting others to commit crimes and misdemeanours against the peace. When Inspector Riley wanted to read the summons to him, Mr. Lansbury replied with his usual geniality: "Oh, you needn't bother. I'll read it when I get home."

The following is the text of the summons:—

In the Metropolitan Police District.

To GEORGE LANSBURY,
of 35, Athelston Row, Bow.

Information and complaint has been laid this day by George Riley, Inspector of Police, for that you are a disturber of the Peace, of our Lord the King, and an inciter of others to commit divers crimes and misdemeanours against the Peace of our said the Lord the King, and that you are likely to persevere in such unlawful conduct and behaviour and that by reason thereof further disturbances of the Peace of our said the Lord the King and further crimes and misdemeanours against the Peace of our said the Lord the King within the said District and elsewhere in England are likely to be done and committed by divers persons being women.

You are therefore hereby summoned to appear before the Court of Summary Jurisdiction, sitting at the Bow Street Police Court on Friday, the 18th day of April, 1913, at the hour of 10.30 in the forenoon to answer to the said information, and to shew cause why you should not be ordered to enter into your own recognisances, and further find sufficient sureties for your future good behaviour, and to keep the peace towards our said the Lord the King and his Liege subjects, and to abstain thereafter from conduct and language likely and calculated to bring about a violation of the law and the public peace.

Given under my hand and seal this 15th day of April, one thousand nine hundred and thirteen.

(Signed) JOHN DICKINSON.

One of the magistrates of the police courts of the Metropolis.

MR. LANSBURY'S SPEECH AT THE ALBERT HALL, APRIL 10, 1913

The following is a verbatim report of some of the passages in Mr. Lansbury's Albert Hall speech which, it has been stated, the authorities have had under their consideration with a view of proceeding against him:—

We are gathered, as you know, at what would be ordinarily called a time of crisis. I wonder if those Irish Nationalists, recreant to everything they ever believed in before, who voted last week for this wretched Bill of Mr. McKenna's, I wonder if those men remember that when the Land League was suppressed in Ireland, some years ago, and Mr. Parnell and the rest of the Irish leaders were flung into prison, it was Irishwomen who came to the front and took their place? I want to make an appeal to the progressive men who are here, to ask them what they are going to do about this Cat and Mouse Bill? There is only one way—that is to get rid of it!

A League of Militant Men

I want also to ask the men here whether they think the time has not arrived when we should take some sort of active step in this fight? I am certain myself that we cannot do the work that the W.S.P.U. is doing; they can do it very much better than we can. But you men have got, most of you, the power to do something. The reason the newspapers are able to print the sort of rubbish they do print—(hisses)—about this movement is simply this, that men support those newspapers, and men, by their quiescence, allow it to appear as if public opinion were on the side of the Government. How many men are there who take the trouble ever to go to Hyde Park, to stand by women who are being treated, not merely in the most un-British manner, but in the most inhuman manner by this set of cads? How many of us take the trouble to go to Holloway or to Brixton or to Wormwood Scrubbs? How many take any hand in the work other than in passing pious resolutions? I have come to the conclusion, friends, that men who are interested in this business have got also to make sacrifices as the women have made sacrifices. I want to see set on foot a league of militant men. (Hear, hear, and applause.) It is a relatively easy thing to cheer other people, and this is just the moment when we men can translate the Union's motto in our own lives and say we believe, as the W.S.P.U. has believed, that deeds are more important than words, and show to the Government too that there are a band of men who are not going to sit down and allow their sisters to be coerced in this brutal and disgusting manner.

To the Moderate People

Now, friends, I want to make an appeal to the moderate people who are here. One big Suffrage society has said it will support the Labour Party for the purpose of enabling them to get stronger in the House of Commons, because that is the kind of policy for moderate people. If there are any men or women here who now believe that the Parliamentary Labour Party are worth their salt in regard to this question, then I have very grave doubts of their sanity. (Applause.) They have, of course, passed resolutions—they are good at passing resolutions outside the House of Commons—they have said that they will oppose any Franchise Bill that may be introduced if it does not include women. Well, we have got the Plural Voting Bill; and we have got the division lists of the first reading, and we know that the Labour Party, as a Party, are going to back that Bill through. I say to the people who put their trust in those men that you are putting your trust in a broken reed. These men have no notion of endangering what they are pleased to call their political career for this. Then you have trusted them to fight the Government over forcible feeding and the dastardly treatment that women have had to endure in prison; well, you saw last week only eight men went into the division lobby against this wretched coercion Bill. How can any woman or any man back these men any longer? If they meant business at all they would not be content with fighting make-believe fights outside the House of Commons, but they would fight the Government in the only place they can fight it, namely, on the floor of the House of Commons. (Applause.)

The Ulster Inciters

The Government, true to the traditions of Liberalism when it is dealing with popular movements—for it was the Liberals who coerced Ireland in the early Home Rule movement—has put these women into prison because they dare to say the things they believe; but this Government is so cowardly and so miserably mean that they dare not deal in the same way with men who are on the same rung of the social ladder as themselves. (Shame.) I have in my pocket a pamphlet—you can get it from the Home Rule Organisation—containing extracts from the speeches of those responsible and highly-placed Privy Councillors, Mr. Bonar Law and the Right Hon. Sir Edward Carson. It may be said that these men made speeches that referred to mere contingent conditions later on. That is not true. Mr. Bonar Law, speaking "with the full sense of his responsibility," said that he and those acting with him would use any and every means against the Government. Sir Edward Carson said he was going to Ireland to break every law and challenge the Government to imprison him; he said they dared not do so. What happened in Ireland? Within a very few days very grave riots took place in Belfast. One man was nearly roasted to death over a fire, and was only saved by friends. One young girl in the street was bruised and kicked and then taken to the hospital on the point of death. Hundreds of men were driven out of Harland and Woolf's shipyards, and everyone, even the Liberal Press, said that these outrages were the distinct and definite result of incitement by the Right Hon. gentlemen I have named.

Why have not the Government arrested Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Bonar Law?

With all the explosions and narrow escapes and the rest of the melodrama of the daily newspapers, no one in this woman's war has been injured except those taken to prison for committing these offences and subjected to forcible feeding.

The Meaning of It All

Why are we here and why are these brave women carrying on this crusade? Because they believe in something much bigger than the vote; they believe in human freedom. That is what they are out for. (Cheers.) The other day I had sent to me by a young girl from the East End one of the most pathetic letters I have ever seen. She told a story of how she worked at a confectionery factory, making sweets and jam, to the tune of something like 6s. a week. She had no one to help her live, and was driven to make the balance up by other means. Those men here, if there are any, who are crying out against what the women are doing, what are *you* doing? You go out of this hall and you see the girls on the streets. You read of sweated wages, but do you really know why one of the Suffragist prisoners said, when brought up before a magistrate, "If you lived where I live and saw the misery I see, instead of breaking one window you would break a hundred"?

That girl that I mentioned, and the tens of thousands of others that can be mentioned, exist simply because of the idea of society that classes a woman inferior to a man; from the beginning you class her as inferior, and it runs right through life. Against this a handful of women, out of our population of forty millions, had the courage to stand up to the people and say, "We represent the spirit of womanhood the world over." (Applause.) There may be things people are not agreed about, but this will stand out when other things are forgotten, through good report and ill report—they have never looked back, but marched breast forward, and they have done this for the common people of this country, besides proclaiming to the world the worth of every human life, and making us all understand how we are part one of another; making rich people, the cultured, the educated, the refined, see through the woman's movement all the misery and the horrors of the world. Look round you to-day, from the highest to the lowest, all are gambling for money; and yet, in 1912 and 1913, and in the seven years preceding them, this heroic band of women and a few men have stood before the whole world and said, "Money is of no account except for the good it can bring; sisters and children are of more worth than money and what money can buy."

When I was young I dreamed dreams; I thought we had only to preach a thing, and men and women would accept it. I know now how much effort and labour there must be behind every kind of ideal, and I look on this woman's movement, and see around me prejudice and ignorance trying to keep back the effort of womanhood to express itself. I have been in most movements for the past thirty or forty years, and there has never been a movement more virile, more strong, or more moral than the woman's movement to-day; and I tell you that however Governments may attempt further coercion—and through the subsidised Press they may attempt further to rouse what is called public opinion, to head you back—you will still go on.

"There are Limits to Human Endurance"

I appeal to every woman and every man here to stand by the militants. (Great applause.) I make no apology; for I am going to take my stand with the Right Hon. Mr. Bonar Law and the Right Hon. Sir Edward Carson, and Mr. A. J. Balfour. I am going to say to you, men and women, there are limits to all human endurance. Further, you have a right to rebel when you are tricked and deceived; it is the only course open to you. I ask all of you here to stand shoulder to shoulder with the militant women. Back them up in the fight they are waging. Burn and destroy property or anything you like. (Cheers.) And for every leader that is taken away let a dozen step forward and take her place; let us teach that make-believe Liberal Government that this is a holy war for women's and men's rights all the world over, a war which will not cease until our end is accomplished, a war in which we will do our best to preserve human life, but a war in which we have no regard for property of any kind. We will say to Mr. McKenna and Mr. Asquith—(hoots and groans)—Our fight is going on. Personally, I don't believe in hooting; the thing to do is to worry them. (Cheers.) You take my word for it; every window that is broken, every golf-course that is attacked, every race-course stand that is burned down worries them a million times more. Every woman who goes to prison is a greater worry still.

"A Bigger Thing in Life"

People say that in this twentieth century there is no religion. Sometimes I have wondered if this is so; this woman's movement has made me believe there is. Women are proving that there is a bigger thing in life than mere materialism, proving that bodies don't matter; but that nothing can crush your spirit. (Cheers.) And I appeal to every one of you, young and old, to come out and do your part.

Some of you are religious; you go to Communion, either Roman or Anglican; you know what you do when you kneel by the altar—it is the Communion of Saints. I mean as Father Tyrrell does, whether you believe in the Real Presence or not, you realise that you are witnessing once more every sacrifice of humanity that has been made in the past; you are linking yourself with a great historic past, and you are linking yourself with the future. Friends, if Resurrection means anything, it means that you and I are part and parcel of those who have gone and of those who will be. Let us be sure, friends, that every one of us is worthy of the past and worthy of the future. (Prolonged applause.)

INEXPENSIVE BUT STYLISH MILLINERY.

The Flexible "Java" Hat in natural colour, with black tagel lame, trimmed wide silk velvet ribbon in black and all newest shades, finished with a small cluster of berries .. .. Price 11/9

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Famous for over a Century for Taste. for Quality. for Value.

GOVERNMENT ATTACK ON FREE SPEECH

More Coercive Measures—Militant Suffragists' Open-Air Meetings Banned—Press Comments

Last Tuesday the Government took another step in its campaign of coercion against the revolutionary section of Suffragists. The following letter from Sir Edward Henry, the Commissioner of Police, was sent to Miss Kerr, the acting Secretary of the Women's Social and Political Union:—

Madam,—It has been brought to the notice of the Secretary of State that the meetings held by the Women's Social and Political Union in Hyde Park, Wimbledon Common, and other public open spaces in the metropolitan area have been the occasion of grave disorder, notwithstanding the presence of large forces of police, and I have advised him that, having regard to the character of the speeches delivered thereat, it is not practicable by any police arrangements to obviate the possibility of similar disorder occurring if such meetings are held. In these circumstances and in view of the fact that it is the avowed policy of the Women's Social and Political Union to advocate the commission of crimes, the Secretary of State for the Home Department has directed me to instruct the Metropolitan Police to take such steps as are necessary and within their powers to prevent such meetings being held.

In the House of Commons on Wednesday last, at the close of questions, Mr. Keir Hardie said: May I ask the Home Secretary whether he can explain the reason for the police notice published this morning, prohibiting the holding of certain meetings in Hyde Park and elsewhere?

Mr. McKenna (who was received with cheers): If the hon. member will read the notice himself he will see the reason very fully stated.

Mr. Keir Hardie: Is there not a right of public meeting in Hyde Park, and is it not the duty of the Home Office to afford sufficient protection to protect speakers against assault mainly committed by irresponsible youths?

Mr. McKenna: I have a general responsibility for the maintenance of peace and good order. As is stated in the Chief Commissioner's communication, it was found impossible to guarantee the maintenance of peace and good order.

Mr. D. M. Mason: Arising out of that reply, is it not possible to put an end to this matter by removing the cause? (Hear, hear.)

No reply was given.

Mr. Keir Hardie: In consequence of the reply, I beg to give notice that I shall call attention to the matter on the motion for adjournment.

PRESS COMMENTS ON THE PROHIBITION

TORY SATIRE

We are certain that no recommendation will be too stringent for the Liberal Government to adopt and the Liberal Party to approve, so that when a Conservative Government is returned to power there will be nothing to add to the coercive policy of the Home Department. . . . The Liberal theory is that the franchise should include the whole People, without any distinction of person, or any attempt to sift the wheat from the chaff. How such a theory excludes women is not quite clear to us, and we may take it that there the Government is resting upon the sounder Conservative theory that the franchise should only be given to people who are likely to be able to use it for the good and wise ordering of the affairs of the State. It is, we think, a tribute to Conservatism that the Liberal Party should in this respect become Conservative when in office. . . . We may even hope that the Liberal Government will proceed a step or two further in its wise restrictions of the liberty of the subject. For example, it might proscribe meetings held to support strikes which are directed against the safety and well-being of the nation. The ringleaders might be arrested, and although we are certain that forcible feeding would not be necessary in their case, they might be kept under control and supervision without legal process upon some system akin to the so-called "Cat and Mouse" Bill, which has been so ingeniously elaborated by our Liberal Home Secretary. We welcome the measures now being taken against these misguided women as useful precedents which will be available against more dangerous and more serious forms of political crime. . . . But the Liberal Government should put itself right with the public upon one very serious point. It has hitherto been part of the Liberal creed that violence is justified in political agitation. Thus, for example, the pulling up of the Hyde Park railings and the destruction of Nottingham Castle figure in we do not know how many speeches and treatises on Liberal political theory. And it is in the memory of the public that at least one member of the Government has urged upon the women to use violent means of bringing their alleged political grievances into prominence. Now, we hold very strongly that this is a bad and vicious political theory, and that it is hardly short of a crime in politicians to countenance it. For once this theory is admitted anarchy is admitted. If people may use bombs and firelighters in one cause they may use them in another, and who is to judge the righteousness of the cause or to say when the destruction of public and other property is justifiable? We think, then, that the Government would place itself in a much stronger position to fight this feminine hooliganism if it recanted this vicious theory in the light of its present experience. We deny that women have any valid excuse for behaving as they are behaving; but they have two pleas which are to a certain extent plausible: (1) that Liberals and members of the Government have advised them to use violence; and (2) that the Imperial Government has followed a policy of deceit and exasperation which has driven them desperate.—**Morning Post.**

"FUEL TO THE FLAMES"

Any interference with the right of public meeting is a step which will create great disquiet in the minds of those who thought that the battle for that right had been fought and won finally. The reasons for the action are real enough. The disorder has become persistent and serious, and the advocacy of violence has become habitual and unrestrained. The consequences of that advocacy are not problematical; they are the daily material of the newspaper. We report to-day another outrage on the South coast. The alternative before the Home Secretary is as disagreeable as any that ever faced a Liberal Minister. He has either to sit idle while a senseless policy of destruction is preached, or he has to break those tables of the law of free speech for which Liberals in the past have fought and suffered. He has come down on the latter horn of the dilemma. If it were likely to be effective the decision would have some justification. But it will only add fuel to the flames and incidentally it brings us back to the time when a member of the present Cabinet was being tried for fighting the battle of free speech in Trafalgar Square with the present Prime Minister as his counsel.—**Daily News.**

"STANDARD" ASKS FOR MORE

The authorities are vastly mistaken if they flatter themselves that the prohibition of Suffragist meetings in Hyde Park and on Wimbledon Common is the only measure of protection which the opinion of the country requires them to take. This step will be approved as an entirely proper one; but not as an adequate guarantee against a nuisance which has now assumed the dimensions of a menace to the welfare and security of the community and to the property and lives of the citizens. If nothing more is done than to prevent open assemblies, the evil spirit that has been admitted to the counsels of the militant section will merely find other and perhaps yet more reprehensible outlets for its malignant activity. No measures of repression hitherto attempted have produced much effect; it is unlikely that the latest will prove anything better than a palliative. It is a wise one, so far as it goes; but unless accompanied with other checks on the growth of what to all intents and purposes is a dangerous and lawless agitation, it will not mend matters. It is still incumbent on those who are responsible for the maintenance of public order to show that illegal acts and incitement to crime entail penalties which the law is capable of enforcing. We have never underrated the peculiar difficulties which the ingenuity of woman has devised for the distraction both of justice and of the Executive charged with the duty of seeing it applied. But they are not insuperable difficulties; and a Government which confessed itself beaten by them would not be "capax imperii."—**Standard.**

MR. McKENNA, THE SUFFRAGISTS' FRIEND

Mr. McKenna has, in effect, saved the militants from popular attack, and perhaps from lynching. That is but the negative part of his duty. His positive and greater duty is to take further and sterner steps for the protection of public order and safety from an intolerable conspiracy of crime . . . and it is incredible that funds raised for the destruction of property to the increasing jeopardy of life should remain exempt from seizure.—**Pall Mall Gazette.**

THE LIBERAL CROCODILE

We are, of course, always sorry when it is necessary, even temporarily, to withdraw any of the customary facilities for public meetings or free speech, but the Home Secretary is doing no more than his duty in stopping the Suffragette meetings in Hyde Park for the present.—**Westminster Gazette.**

THE "LOGIC" OF THE SITUATION

A natural expectation is that the Suffragists will defy the police prohibition of their meetings in public parks and open spaces. We hope against hope that they will surprise us by bowing to the order. It is issued for the public safety. These meetings, as Sir Edward Henry points out, have become an incentive to crime and disorder. The public has kept its temper for a long time, but of late every gathering has provided signs that patience has reached its limits. Suffragist speeches provoke. The audience adopts the methods that belong to aggravated mobs. Nothing less can be anticipated. Then the police have to come to the rescue of the speakers. Hitherto there has been comparatively little suffering. But only the judicious restraint exercised by the police has prevented violence such as every sane man or woman would deeply regret. The meetings are too grave a threat to social order. They are stopped none too soon. Can the Suffragists recognise the logic of the situation?—**Evening Standard.**

THE "GLOBE" STILL UNSATISFIED

At last Mr. McKenna has done something. . . . But if Mr. McKenna is to effect anything substantial, he must go a good deal further than he has. The Chief of the Metropolitan Police has placed it upon record that "it is the avowed policy of the Women's Social and Political Union to advocate the commission of crimes." In face of that statement it is the plain duty of the Home Secretary to proclaim all the meetings organised by that body, whether in the open or beneath a roof, to treat the organisation itself as a criminal conspiracy, and to ask Parliament for power to confiscate the funds of this frenzied society. . . . Public opinion will not stand much more of this absurd reign of terror.—**Globe.**

FACING FACTS

We doubt whether the general public gauges, with any approach to accuracy, the extent and significance of all that is now taking place as a part, or result, of the crusade for the emancipation of women; this failure being largely due to the fact that nearly all the newspapers try to belittle suffrage events—except breaches of the law. It is continually being said, in Parliament, on the platform, and in the Press, that "militant" suffragists are a small and dwindling band of fanatics. We hold no brief for lawbreakers, but we do believe in facing facts. . . . To attempt to dismiss all militant suffragists as hysterical and insane merely shows ignorance of the quality and calibre of the thousand and more women who have gone to prison during this prolonged tragi-comedy; many of them are among the finest specimens of highly developed young womanhood that the race has produced. How deplorable it is that the Government have so mishandled the question of giving votes to women as to convince some of the noblest spirits in the community that they have no alternative to open rebellion!—**Christian Commonwealth.**

SUFFRAGE MEETING IN HYDE PARK

(By One of the Crowd)

Having read in the Press lurid accounts of the riotous Suffrage meetings held in Hyde Park, I was surprised to find, last Sunday, that as I stood wedged in a dense mass of men and women, some fifteen yards from the lorry from which the Suffragists faced a crowd estimated at 15,000 strong, it was quite possible to hear most of what Miss Brackenbury was saying. The "infuriated mob," indicative, according to the daily Press, of an "outraged public opinion," seemed to consist mainly of a gang of well-dressed young hooligans, who, congregated in a band for their own safety, and with the help of bells, motor-horns, and rowdy songs, made it impossible on that side of the platform for anyone to hear the speeches. It is a pity that the representatives of the Press should always choose to take up their position *en bloc* in the heart of the noisy portion of the crowd; if they moved about in it, as I did, they would learn a good deal more about real "public opinion" than they generally convey to their readers on Monday morning.

I do not mean to say for a moment that the crowd as a mass were panting to give women the vote. But neither were they, as a mass, averse to this. I should say a considerable minority of it were suffragists, a much smaller minority were, or thought themselves to be, Anti-Suffragists, while the greater number belonged to those who never bother to think seriously on any subject, but were drawn there out of curiosity, roused by the sensational reports in the Press of former meetings. Thus, thanks to journalistic imagination, the speakers on the lorry had fine material before them for conversion, and were greatly aided in their work by those who pelted them (rarely with good aim) with mud and stones.

Just in front of me, for instance, were a typical Sunday-afternoon couple—a girl, wearing a large hat covered with feathers, hanging on the arm of an ill-conditioned youth, who bellowed with laughter at every song raised by the hooligans, and at every clod of turf that went flying through the air. Suddenly the girl turned on her cavalier. "Tell yer what it is," she cried. "The be'aviour of them chaps is enough to turn every girl in this crowd into a Sufferagette!" The youth gaped at her. Those round her began to murmur agreement, and I moved on, having learnt two things—that many of those who came to scoff probably remained to pray, and that others, who by their silence seemed to back the opposition, only wanted a lead in order to make them come out on the right side.

"It makes you despair of England and Englishmen," said a woman, sadly, in another part of the crowd, where jeers and incomparable vulgarity seemed to predominate. "This isn't England," said her companion; "working-men are not like this." Instantly, a man, hitherto silent, showed himself a Suffragist. "You're right, miss," he said; "trades unionists wouldn't let women be treated like this." Those who jeered turned on him in a chorus. He grinned at them unmoved. "Keep your hair on, mates," he observed; "what about Hyde Park railings and Bristol riots, anyway?" A rousing discussion was interrupted by the parting of the throng, and two women edged their way outwards, one of them remarking that she couldn't stand any more of it. Someone near implied that she was wise. She looked at him queerly. "You see, I'm an American," she said; "and in America our men give the women the vote as fast as they ask for it."

Another woman was silencing the jesters in her neighbourhood by telling of Poor Law experiences that had made her a Suffragist. Nearer the railings, a couple of over-dressed ladies, suspecting a Suffragist in a quiet, pale-faced woman, were advising her to go and look after her home and the poor instead of shrieking for votes. "But I've been doing that for years," she said. "I live among the poor. That is why I am a Suffragette." They cried out at that, saying the poor were not worth helping, they drank, and were extravagant, and so on. The crowd, inclined to support them until then, veered round at this; and the quiet woman seized her opportunity. As she moved off, I saw she wore the prison badge.

Scattered among the indifferent were many stalwart male supporters. A pleasant incident occurred when an anæmic fellow, seeing himself entrenched by members of his own sex, threw a missile at the lorry. He discovered to his cost that he was in a nest of Suffragists, and they gave him a warm time before they let him go. The absolute lack of courage on the part of those who threw mud at women and howled them down was very obvious. A little bit of a woman, wearing a Suffrage badge, roused the fury of a whole gang of them by loudly cheering the departing speakers as they came by in their lorry. "You ought to be ducked in the Serpentine!" shrieked one youth, brandishing his stick at her. "You haven't the pluck to do it!" she retorted scornfully. It was true—and wherever one went in that crowd, except in the organised section of it, which was a small one, it was clear that a very little plain speaking sent hostility slinking off with its tail between its legs, and brought out support, or at worst sympathy, on all sides.

I was sorry for the crowds that thronged the gates of the park and the doorsteps of the houses opposite. They had been sadly misled by the Press that draw pictures of abnormal women being torn to pieces by honest British subjects. And I was amused to read on Monday morning that the police had had to close the meeting. What happened was that the women closed it when the time came for bringing it to an end; and the police cleared a way for their lorry through the crowd.

Why did the women hold that meeting? The answer was to be found in the hundreds of little groups scattered about the park after the lorry had gone. The topic of discussion in every one of them was Votes for Women.

GOVERNMENT AND MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE

Threat of Bankruptcy Proceedings in Default of Payment

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE. No. 1038—of 1913.
IN BANKRUPTCY.

Re Frederick William Pethick Lawrence. *Ex parte* the Director of Public Prosecutions.

To Frederick William Pethick Lawrence, of Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, in the City of London.

TAKE NOTICE, that within seven days after Service of this Notice on you, excluding the day of Service, you must pay to the Director of Public Prosecutions, of Whitehall, in the City of Westminster, the sum of £612 6s. 10d., claimed by him as being the amount due on a Final Judgment obtained by him against you in the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice, dated 9th day of April, 1913; whereon execution has not been stayed, or you must secure or compound for the said sum to his satisfaction, or to the satisfaction of the Court; or you must satisfy the Court that you have a Counter-claim, Set-off, or Cross-demand against the Director of Public Prosecutions which equals or exceeds the sum by him and which you could not set up in the Action in which Judgment was obtained.

Dated this 16th day of April, 1913.
BY THE COURT
(Sgd.) James R. Brougham, Registrar.

YOU ARE SPECIALLY TO NOTE

That the consequences of not complying with the requisitions of this Notice are that you will have committed an Act of Bankruptcy, on which Bankruptcy proceedings may be taken against you.

If, however, you have a Counter-claim, Set-off or Cross-demand which equals or exceeds the amount claimed by the Director of Public Prosecutions in respect of the Judgment, and which you could not set up in the Action in which the said Judgment was obtained, you must within three days apply to the Court to set aside this Notice, by filing with the Registrar an Affidavit to the above effect.

Treasury Solicitor,
276, Courts of Justice,
Strand, London, W.C.

Following upon the victory of the Director of Public Prosecutions in the Civil Court on his claim against Mr. Pethick Lawrence for £598 5s. 8d., an attempt is now being initiated by the Government to make Mr. Lawrence a bankrupt.

On Saturday morning a letter was received by Mr. Lawrence's solicitors from the Treasury informing them that the costs in the recent civil action were £14 1s. 2d., and that unless the whole amount of £612 6s. 10s. were paid by Tuesday, other action would be taken. The letter was as follows:—

Dear Sirs,—The costs in this matter have now been taxed and allowed at £14 1s. 2d., which, with the sum of £598 5s. 8d. for which judgment was given on the 9th instant, makes the total sum due from your client to the Director of Public Prosecutions £612 6s. 10d.

I have to request that you will be so good as to forward me a cheque for this amount on or before Tuesday next, the 15th instant, failing which my instructions are to take further proceedings to recover this sum.—Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) A. T. Hare,
for Treasury Solicitor.

Treasury Solicitor's Department (Law Courts Branch), 276, Royal Courts of Justice, London, W.C. April 11, 1913.

As no reply was sent to this letter, a messenger called at Red Lion Court on Wednesday morning, and served upon Mr. Pethick Lawrence the writ, a copy of which is printed at the head of these columns.

The effect of this will be that at the end of seven days, unless the money be paid, a further writ may be served upon Mr. Pethick Lawrence, announcing that a petition in bankruptcy has been filed, and fixing a date for the hearing of the case.

These circumstances, as our readers will remember, are the sequel to the demonstrations of March, 1912, in the course of which a large number of shop windows in Oxford Street, Regent Street, Piccadilly, Cockspur Street, the Strand, and elsewhere were broken. In addition to the arrests and sentences of the women who were guilty of these actions, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst on a charge of conspiracy, in conjunction with Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke, who were already in prison. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were arrested, but Miss Christabel Pankhurst escaped to Paris, and Mrs. Tuke was shortly afterwards discharged.

Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were tried at the Old Bailey in May, and were found guilty by the jury, who, however, added a rider commending them to clemency on account of the "purity of their motives." They were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division, and Mr. Justice Coleridge further imposed on Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. Pethick Lawrence the costs of the prosecution.

Shortly after their release, while all of them were too ill to attend to any business, the Director of Public Prosecutions presented to Mr. Marshall, the solicitor for the prisoners, the bill of prosecution costs, amounting to £893 5s. 2d. To this was shortly afterwards added a Bill from the County Council for the cost of prosecution witnesses, amounting to over £200. Mr. Marshall replied that the prisoners were too ill to be consulted.

Meanwhile, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence left England on a visit to Canada to recover their health. While they were there the Government put bailiffs into "The Mascot," Mr. Lawrence's house at Holmwood. They remained in possession during the whole time of Mr. Lawrence's absence in Canada and for some weeks after his return. Finally, on October 31, an auction was held of all the furniture and movables in the house and garden.

For four and a half months nothing further was done by the Government in the matter. They neither sent in any claim to Mr. Pethick Lawrence showing the amount still demanded, nor did they take any further action to recover the balance. At last, on March 12, a writ was served, and civil proceedings were commenced, resulting in a verdict for the Director of Public Prosecutions, with a further addition of £14 1s. 2d. to the bill, for costs of the civil proceedings. As stated above, the present claim is for £612 6s. 10d., made up of the two amounts of £598 5s. 8d. and £14 1s. 2d.

CONFERENCE ON FORCIBLE FEEDING

Following upon the demonstration in the Kingsway Hall on March 16, when a packed meeting called upon the Government to put a stop to the "barbarous custom" of forcible feeding, the National Political League has now called by invitation a private Conference of influential men and women to discuss the matter. This Conference will be held on Thursday, after we go to press, and will precede a deputation to the Prime Minister and representative Members of the Cabinet and of the House of Commons.

Among those attending the Conference are the Earl and Countess Brassey, Muriel, Countess De la Warr, Lady Muir Mackenzie, Mr. Forbes-Robertson, the Rev. Dr. Percy Dearmer, Mr. Zangwill, Mr. H. W. Massingham, Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Harben, the Rev. Dr. Cobb, Miss A. E. F. Horniman, Professor J. Carpenter, General Sir E. F. Chapman, Mr. Josiah Oldfield, Mr. Aylmer Maude.

EMINENT MEN CONDEMN FORCIBLE FEEDING

From among many letters received by the National Political League from eminent people who strongly condemn the practice, the following quotations are of interest:—

Mr. C. H. Wells: "I regard forcible feeding of prisoners as a loathsome and detestable barbarism."

Mr. Aylmer Maude: "I wish to see forcible feeding abolished and women enfranchised."

Mr. J. Forbes-Robertson: "I need hardly say that I am heartily in favour of the resolution passed at the Kingsway Hall on March 18. Please add my name to the protesters against increasing the horrible torture of forcible feeding."

The Rev. Dr. Cobb: "I regard forcible feeding as a brutal, immoral, and wholly indefensible assault on the just liberty of the subject, and as a Liberal I am amazed and horrified at a Government professing Liberal traditions degrading itself by practicing it and then defending it. *A priori* it might have been declared to be one of the things which could not possibly happen."

Mr. John Galsworthy: "I desire to associate myself most heartily with the protest against the practice of forcible feeding; which seems to me to be bringing the administration of justice into dangerous odium, and grievously divesting it of dignity."

Rev. John Hunter, D.D. (of Glasgow) "I am in full sympathy with the object of the Conference—and so ought every Englishman and English woman. I have been a good Liberal all my public life, but I am ashamed of the present Liberal Government."

Rev. T. A. Lacey: "I write to express my entire concurrence with the resolution adopted at Kingsway Hall on March 18. I should explain, however, that I do this with a certain reserve. I do not approve of the hunger strike. The rules of a prison should be obeyed, just because they are ordinary incidents of a penalty. Should a prisoner refuse food, however, I think that his conduct, though regrettable, cannot lightly be visited with such a violent addition to the penalty as is involved in forcible feeding. It was better even to let him die. I wish that its legality could be tested by an action for assault."

The Bishop of Lincoln would be glad to reaffirm his opinion upon the matter, it being understood that he expresses no opinion in favour of militancy.

Prof. F. E. Weiss, F.L.S.: "I entirely sympathise with your attitude in this matter. It has been proved that forcible feeding is not a deterrent, while it cannot help being a brutal and brutalising punishment, with no justification in law or in practice."

The Rev. Dr. W. E. Orchard, D.D. (Lond.): "I desire to unite with any public protest that may be made against forcible feeding, and I hope it may have some effect upon the policy of the Government."

The Rev. R. J. Campbell states that he is "entirely opposed to the forcible feeding of Suffrage prisoners."

MR. HUGH FRANKLIN
"Scarcely Recognisable"

Besides the fact that at least four women Suffragist prisoners are being forcibly fed in Holloway Gaol as we go to press, we would remind our readers further that for six weeks Mr. Hugh Franklin has been in Pentonville Gaol, and for the whole of that time he has been forcibly fed twice a day. It will be remembered that he was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment on a charge of setting fire to an empty compartment in a railway train, and that he went to prison in a weakened condition, having resorted to the hunger strike while on remand as a protest against the magistrates' refusal of bail. In spite of this, and in spite of the fearful odds against him, he has fought daily ever since against the horrible process of tube-feeding by force, administered by a body of six men. He has gone through this sickening operation about eighty times, and he is still fighting. Mrs. Drummond stated at the London Pavilion last Monday that he had been visited, and was said to be "scarcely recognisable."

A member of the Men's Political Union writes: "The death of the body when the mind is active is an awful thing, but the death of the mind when the body is active is a tragedy before the profundity of which the other seems as nothing. But the Home Secretary has yet to prove that it is not such an outrage he even now, through his underlings, is seeking to perpetrate."

ANOTHER DEATH FROM FORCIBLE FEEDING

We have repeatedly drawn attention to deaths that result from forcible feeding of persons other than Suffragist prisoners, and a fresh instance has just occurred at Stafford, where the Coroner held an inquest last Tuesday on the body of a man named Taunton, an inmate of the Coton Hill Hospital for Mental Diseases.

The medical evidence showed that Taunton had latterly refused to take food, and he was fed with a tube through the nose. He struggled the whole time, and when the tube was withdrawn he collapsed and died. A post mortem examination disclosed that death was due to syncope, the result of cardiac failure. The jury found that death was due to syncope accelerated by the forcible feeding, which was, however, regarded as necessary.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP.

4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

Hon. Sec.: MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Colours—PURPLE, WHITE, AND GREEN.

I Bring the Gift of—

New Fellows.	New Readers of "Votes for Women."	Subscriptions for Fellowship Fund, including Poster Fund.	News-Posters Displayed at Newsagents & Bookstalls.	Other Service

***To the* "Votes for Women" Fellowship, May 7th, 1913.**

Name.....

Address.....

N.B.—Fellows are asked to give their custom to those firms which advertise in "Votes for Women."

RELEASE OF MRS. PANKHURST

After a hunger strike of eight days Mrs. Pankhurst was granted a licence of release on Friday evening, April 11, and was moved to a nursing home on Saturday morning. She was in a state of great collapse and weakness, and as we go to press is reported to be still in a very serious condition of health.

The Home Secretary's Letter

The Home Secretary's letter granting a licence of release from prison to Mrs. Pankhurst was as follows:—

Special Order of Licence under the Penal Servitude Acts, 1853 to 1891.

Whitehall, 11th day of April, 1913.

His Majesty is graciously pleased to grant to Emmeline Pankhurst, who was convicted of being an accessory before the fact of a felony under section 10 of the Malicious Damage Act of 1861 at the Central Criminal Court on the third day of April, 1913, and was then and there sentenced to be kept in penal servitude for the term of three years, and is now confined to Holloway prison.

His Royal licence to be at large from the day of her liberation under this order during 15 days of her said term of penal servitude, unless the said Emmeline Pankhurst shall, before the expiration of the said 15 days, be convicted on indictment of some offence within the United Kingdom, in which case such licence will be immediately forfeited by law, or unless she shall break any of the conditions endorsed hereon, in which case, whether such breach is followed by conviction or not, the licence is liable to be revoked, or unless it shall please His Majesty to revoke or alter the licence.

And His Majesty hereby orders that the said Emmeline Pankhurst be set at liberty accordingly.

(Signed) R. McKenna.

Terms of the Licence

The terms of the licence under which Mrs. Pankhurst was released from prison by the Home Secretary are, it is understood, as follows:—

This licence will be forfeited if the holder does not observe the following conditions:—

Conditions.

(1) The holder shall preserve her licence and produce it when called upon to do so by a magistrate or police officer.

(2) She shall abstain from any violation of the law.

(3) She shall not go outside the residence or lodging to which she goes on her release, except as far as may, on her application, and on her submitting if required to medical examination, be allowed in writing by the Directors of Convict Prisons. If she be permitted by the Directors to change her residence or lodging, this condition shall apply to her in such new residence or lodging.

(4) She shall return to Holloway Prison before 4 o'clock p.m. on the 28th day of April, 1913.

"If Mrs. Pankhurst Goes Back"

Mrs. Drummond, speaking in Liverpool last Tuesday evening, said that Cabinet Ministers were actually running away with the idea that they would be able to put down the women. They would not while they had a type of woman like Mrs. Pankhurst to deal with. When Mrs. Pankhurst was released she tore up her licence.

"She will have to go back," said a voice.

"If," retorted Mrs. Drummond, "Mrs. Pankhurst goes back, it will mean that the Government are inciting to riot."

THE SUFFRAGE BILL

The second reading of the Woman Suffrage Bill drafted by the Liberal Suffragist group in the House of Commons, and introduced by Mr. Dickinson, will, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, be given two days by the Government shortly before the rising of the House for the Whitsuntide holidays. The exact day will probably be announced after we go to press. The *Times* of April 11 stated that Mr. Dickinson had written to the Prime Minister asking when facilities could be given; and "A Wayfarer," in the *Nation*, says:—

"It is hoped that the second reading of the Women's Franchise Bill will be taken before the Whitsuntide recess, and that at least a day and a half, if not two days, will be given to the discussion."

According to the *Daily Telegraph* (April 15): "Supporters of the measure fear that the opportunity may not occur until after Whitsuntide, owing to the unexpected length of time which is being occupied by the Collection of Taxes Bill and the Prisoners' Discharge Bill."

This was contradicted, however, in the same paper on April 16 by an announcement similar to that quoted above from the *Manchester Guardian*. The *Daily Telegraph* adds:—

"The measure will be stoutly opposed, even from the Ministerial benches, a strong committee having been formed under the chairmanship of Mr. Lewis Harcourt, the Colonial Secretary, with Sir Maurice Levy and Mr. MacCallum Scott as joint secretaries. The Cabinet Ministers who have opposed woman suffrage, in addition to Mr. Harcourt, are Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill, Mr. McKenna, Colonel Seely, Mr. Herbert Samuel, Mr. Hobhouse, and Mr. J. A. Pease."

THE ONLY WAY

The Govanhill Branch of the I.L.P. has passed a resolution protesting against the Government's treatment of Suffragists, and calling upon the Government to end the agitation by introducing a measure conferring votes upon women.

TWO PRESS VIEWS

GOING TOO FAR

Our only objection to the Bill introduced by Mr. W. H. Dickinson is that it seems a particularly ambitious beginning. For not only does it seek to enfranchise women householders—on the lines of the old Conciliation Bill—but it also includes the wives of male householders—six million women in all. This, we think, is going too far in the present state of public opinion.—**National Weekly.**

REMOVE THE CAUSE? NEVER!

We are extremely sorry to see that the Prime Minister proposes to-morrow to give a date for the second reading of Mr. Dickinson's Woman Suffrage Bill. While the abominable outrages continue, mere respect for the law should restrain any Minister from yielding to the demands which these outrages are intended to support.—**Globe (April 16).**

CAT AND MOUSE BILL

On Wednesday in last week the House again went into Committee on the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Bill.

Lord Robert Cecil, resuming his speech, which he had not finished when the debate was adjourned, said the real question was not whether the conditions of the licence which the Home Secretary had proposed were good or bad, but whether they should be put in the statute or left to the Home Secretary's discretion. Under the Penal Servitude Act, 1853, the conditions of licences were left to the discretion of the Home Secretary; the Act of 1864 set out certain conditions to be imposed, and the Act of 1871 declared that the conditions might be modified, but any modifications must be laid on the table of the House. There was therefore control by Parliament. He submitted that the case for preserving the control of Parliament was stronger under this Bill. The granting of licence in an ordinary case was in favour of the prisoner, while the object of this Bill was to compel prisoners to serve their sentences and to leave the Home Secretary free from the control of Parliament was bad legislation and indefensible. The plain course was to put the conditions in the Bill.

Mr. M'Curdy then asked the Home Secretary if the assent of the proposed licensee would be asked to the conditions named in the licence.

Mr. McKenna: No.

Mr. M'Curdy: Then in a case arising under this Act, say the case of a female who is being released on account of a hunger strike, is it proposed that any assent or undertaking on the part of the prisoner proposed to be released should be asked as a term of the discharge?

Mr. McKenna: No.

Mr. M'Curdy: Then I want to ask a further question to make the situation clear. The hon. Member who has just sat down referred to the importance of the enforcement of such conditions as may be made by the Home Secretary. Am I right in this view, that the only sanction for the enforcement of any conditions laid down will be that upon breach of the conditions the temporary discharge comes to an end?

Mr. McKenna indicated assent.

It being then a quarter past eight o'clock, the debate was adjourned. It was to be resumed on Thursday after we went to press, and the remaining stages will probably be taken next Monday.

ACTRESSES AND CAT AND MOUSE BILL

The following letter was sent to the Chairman of the Labour Party, on the introduction of the Prisoners' Bill by Mr. McKenna. No reply, we are informed, has been received to it:—

Sir,—I am desired by my committee to remind you that the new inhuman Bill for the further coercion of women which has been introduced by Mr. McKenna can have no chance of passing if the Labour party oppose it on its second reading, and vote solidly against it. The Bill, if it means anything at all, is a repressive measure by which women are to be brought to the lowest ebb of human vitality by forcible feeding, released in order that they may get strong enough to be re-imprisoned, and then tortured again.

My Society, which is non-militant, must remind you, however, that had Mr. Asquith fulfilled his pledge to women the present deplorable state of affairs could never have supervened, and we feel it to be a poor return for all that Suffragists have sacrified in order to emancipate woman's labour, that the Labour party should continue to support a Government which crushes woman's labour and coerces the women who are suffering for it.

It is at once a surprise and disappointment that the Labour party, who hold the balance of woman's emancipation in their forty votes, should not only withhold from women their practical protection, but should allow such a terrible Bill to be introduced by the Home Secretary, and acquiesce in its introduction by a silence which gives consent. We call upon you to come to the rescue of women who will die rather than yield, and not only to fight this new Bill of Coercion, but to withdraw your support from a Government guilty of such refinement of cruelty to the women they have themselves betrayed. It is by the granting of the vote only that disorder can effectually be quelled, and the introduction of a measure for Women's Suffrage by the Government will finally calm a trouble that can only be aggravated by coercion.—Yours faithfully,

Winifred Mayo
(Organising Secretary, Actresses' Franchise League).

MRS. FAWCETT ON THE TRUE REMEDY

The following letter from Mrs. Fawcett appeared in the Press last Wednesday:—

"Now that Mr. McKenna's Prisoners Temporary Discharge Bill is in Committee, may I be allowed to make through your columns a strong appeal to the House of Commons to insist that it shall be employed as a substitute for forcible feeding and not in addition to it?

"The National Union deprecates physical violence in every form; it has constantly protested against it when employed by the so-called militant suffragists; it protests against it as strongly when the State employs it against them. Forcible feeding as practised in prisons is a form of torture which ought to be absolutely forbidden. The Liberal Party is committed to the principle that 'force is no remedy.' It has again and again applied this principle to other political problems with marked success. Cannot its leaders see now that they are abandoning this principle if they simply pile up measures of coercion against the militant suffragists, while doing nothing to remove the grievances of which they (and we) complain?

"A few years ago Mr. Asquith, referring at a Guildhall banquet to the satisfactory pacification of South Africa since a free Constitution had been granted, used the expression, 'Great is the magic of free institutions.' Let him try this magic upon fighting women as he had the courage to try it upon fighting Boers. If a statesman could be found who would punish lawbreakers with unflinching severity, abstain from torturing them, and at the same time extend the operation of free representative institutions to the women of the country, all the trouble which has dogged the life of successive Home Secretaries for the last six years would disappear as if by magic."

IN THE PRESS

"THE BILL MUST FAIL"

We regret to see Mr. McKenna's qualified announcement that he retains the right to feed forcibly, though it was surely understood that the Bill was a substitute for that universally detested device. But in any case the Bill must fail. The Home Secretary stated in Committee that the prisoners would be released on licence for a definite period, subject to good conduct. But he gave himself liberty to enlarge the period, and, whether it be short or long, it is safe to say that every condition of the licence will be ignored. The Suffragists do not resemble the ordinary convict. He wants to keep out of prison; they are ready to go in. There is a strict limit to the possible number of re-arrests, for repeated self-starvation, like prolonged forcible feeding, means death.—**Nation.**

A STATESMANLIKE UTTERANCE

This measure will not be of the slightest use. It will only make Mr. McKenna more ridiculous than ever. It is quite time, however, that the miserable and brutal farce of imprisoning these women ceased. There is not a sane person in the whole country who does not know that their demands will have to be conceded, and that they are fair and just demands. There is not a single intelligent argument against the enfranchisement of women, and all the experience of the past shows that, in a free country, legitimate and reasonable political demands are bound to be conceded sooner or later. The only obstacle to votes for women is the miserable fear on the part of the Radical party that a majority of women would vote on the Conservative side. If only the Radical party could be convinced that votes for women would strengthen the party the vote would be conceded by the present Government without a moment's hesitation. But at the present time honourable and cultured women are being imprisoned and nearly murdered from a craven fear that if they were given justice the Radical party would lose a few seats. The opposition to women's suffrage is, therefore, one of the most contemptible things there has ever been in English politics.—**Nottingham Guardian.**

STEADILY MAKING HEADWAY

But even though the Suffragettes be made to pay the penalty of their crimes, there is not the smallest reason to suppose that this would have any effect in checking the movement. Notwithstanding the foolish methods of the militants, it is steadily making headway among the thinking classes of the community, and it is idle to suppose that women can be debarred indefinitely from the right of entry to the Parliamentary polling booths.—**National Weekly.**

THEY CANNOT!

That the House of Commons can think well of such a measure constitutes not the least of the amazing proofs of its general flabbiness and inefficiency that have been afforded us of late years. The thing is a mockery of legislation and an insult to the nation. Cannot Mr. McKenna and those who acquiesce in his backboneless action realise that these hunger-striking suffragettes are made of the same stuff as religious fanatics of the most rabid order?—**The Commentator.**

SNAPPING HER FINGERS

What conceivable good these conditions will effect does not appear. The prisoner, knowing perfectly well that she is being released because Mr. McKenna dare not do anything else with her, will snap her fingers at his conditions, and wait cheerfully until he gets tired of the comedy of re-arrest and release.—**Globe.**

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NEW BOOKS

NOBLE HATRED*

Two notable things have happened in journalism. One is the appearance of articles that tell the truth without thought of Party. The other is Mr. Will Dyson. And both have appeared in the *Daily Herald*, the one and only Suffrage daily.

Mr. Dyson has published a selection of his cartoons, and cheap. They will do much for our cause, and for every cause that is worth fighting for. He is a born cartoonist. In style or art he does not belong to any English school Perhaps it comes of his Australian birth; anyhow. he draws with a freedom and dash that no English cartoonist has shown for a century. During the glimpse of freedom that Russia enjoyed about seven years ago, a host of cartoonists sprang from the ground. They swarmed, and they were astonishing. As tyranny was recovering its power. the hawkers used to stuff the cartoons up the down-spouts of the houses and sell them quietly when the police were not watching with their whips. Then the cartoonists vanished, suddenly as they sprang up. They have reappeared in Mr. Dyson. They have reappeared in England, and that, perhaps, is significant.

Apart from style and drawing, the spirit is new. Or rather, the new spirit has created the new style. For over sixty years, *Punch* has set our fashion in cartoons, and no one wants to disparage the great series with which *Punch* has illustrated history since Early Victorian times. It has often reflected the comfortable spirit of the age, or at least of Parliament, with extraordinary skill. We all know the spirit of its cartoons, for it is the spirit of political leaders, decent clubs, and, to use Mr. Bodkin's phrase, "the ordinary citizen." It is good-tempered unless hurt, tolerant unless endangered, careful of the enemy's feelings for fear he should trample on its own, and joyfully maintaining "the amenities of our political life." It is the spirit that will dine with its opponents, play golf with the man it has denounced, and jest over the defeat of a principle for which it seemed ready to die. It is a spirit incapable of passion, and not daring to hate—the spirit of the Front Benches in the "House of Pretence"; and of nearly all the Back Benches, too, now that George Lansbury has gone.

That was all very pretty in its day; but, thank God, we are changing it now. The Suffrage has done as much as anything else to change it. I would rather starve than dine with an "Anti." I would not play golf with him, or be seen dead in the same street with h'm, or show him any other of the boasted amenities of our political life. Hatred has come back into politics, and we welcome it with all our hearts. There can be no passion without it, no burning belief in a principle greater than ourselves.

Mr. Dyson is the cartoonist of noble hatred. He shows no tolerance, no easy temper, no care for the enemy's feelings. Between him and the enemy it is war without quarter. No reconciliation is imaginable at any future time. No honourable member opposite will ever rise to thank him for a graceful allusion or charming display of consideration. He hates the object he attacks, and whether it is man or system, he slashes at it, sticks it in the pillory, dashes out its brains. It may be the "Fat Man," or the Labour Party, or the Right-thinking Person, or Mr. Asquith, or Mr. Lloyd George; in the same unflinching and unmerciful spirit he deals his blow the moment he perceives the wrong.

Once only, I think, does he touch foreign politics—in the great cartoon of the Turk Crucified. For the rest, he treats of almost every false or terrible side of our national existence. One of his finest drawings is Want as the Procurer tempting a girl. But more specially concerned with our cause are the cartoons of the Anti-Suffrage St. George defending the Dragon of Privilege against the Suffragette, "because there is a perpetual close season for dragons nowadays"; or the Fat Man of the Old Guard meeting the shades of Chivalry and the Troglodyte, and protesting, "The Old Guard lies, but never surrenders the Vote!"; or the fat Insurance Act devouring all the food of a starving family, while the mother says, "We must do our share in keeping up his strength."

Both in art and spirit the book is a great production, and we only hope the *Daily Herald* may long continue to give us such encouragement in the battle of day by day.

H. W. N.

THE DOMESTIC SERVANT

This little book† sets forth some of the grievances of domestic servants; the long hours, the constant standing, the power of employers to injure the character of the employed. The author advocates a "compulsory character" system, but we do not understand how this could be worked. We agree with her that women servants have not much chance of being listened to till they can make their voices heard through the vote.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Englishwoman." April. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

"A Catechism of Life." By Alice Mary Buckton. (London: Methuen. Price 1s. net.)

"Saint Bride." By James Wilkie. (London: Foulis. Price 6d. net.)

"The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review." (48, Dover Street, Piccadilly. Price 2d)

* "Cartoons." By Will Dyson. ("Daily Herald" Office. 6d.)

† "The Case of Isabel Sibyl: A Plea for Justice to Domestic Servants." By Sibyl Kerr. (Published by the author. On sale at the International Suffrage Shop, 15, Adam Street, Strand. Price 1s.)

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——BY——

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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FRIDAY, APRIL 18, 1913.

WHY NOT JUSTICE?

In the *Daily News* of Monday last Mr. Massingham, the well-known Liberal journalist, stigmatises as "folly" and as a "tragedy of errors" the refusal of the Liberal Government to enfranchise women.

This sentiment, which is shared by an ever-increasing number of the rank and file of the Liberal Party, can only be intensified by the news of the latest act of coercion determined upon by the Cabinet. Not content with the "Cat and Mouse" Bill designed to inflict a refinement of torture upon members of the revolutionary Suffrage party whenever they can be caught, the Government have decided to suppress all outdoor public meetings held in London by the Women's Social and Political Union.

We need not stop to examine the subterfuge put forward by Mr. McKenna that this decision has been taken on the initiative of the police, because we do not imagine it will impose on any of our readers, particularly in view of the report which we publish this week from the pen of an eye-witness of the meeting held last Sunday in Hyde Park by members of the W.S.P.U. We shall therefore deal with the prohibition on its merits as a Government decision.

We have yet to learn that coercion is capable of proving a remedy for social disorder. Judging by the temper of the revolutionary party, it seems not unlikely that the prohibition will be defied, in which case we shall have the unedifying spectacle of a Liberal Government engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle to suppress free speech, arresting and imprisoning women for the simple offence of daring to address an audience in a public place. But if the order be obeyed, the Government will be in no better plight. It will simply mean that one of the principal means of constitutional agitation has been cut off, while all the revolutionary propaganda, all the schemes for the destruction of property will be carried on in subterranean ways which those who have followed the history of the movement with attention cannot delude themselves into believing will be ineffective. Nothing will have been gained. Only an added reason for revolutionary tactics will have been provided.

The real remedy is far otherwise. It is a remedy as old as the institution of human government itself. It is a remedy essentially liberal. It is nothing less than the redress of the grievance which has given rise to the whole turmoil.

When will the Liberal Party realise that its prime duty is to put into effect Liberal principles? And what principle is more Liberal than that of self-government? How can a party which boasts of the way it pacified South Africa, and of the solution it proposes to offer to Nationalist Ireland, deny to the women of its own country a share in the management of their own affairs? The truth is that it cannot do so without being false to itself, and it is becoming every day increasingly difficult to find anyone who will attempt to argue from Liberal first principles that women should not be enfranchised.

Two reasons, and two reasons alone, are put forward by Liberal apologists for the Government's attitude on this question. In the first place, it is said Mr. Asquith has made up his mind, and he and the other anti-Suffragists in his Cabinet cannot be expected to change. But what if they have made up their minds wrong? Is there to be no correction of error? Are the logic of events, the mature expression of the rank and file of the party to count for nothing? This is to establish a new maxim: *Once wrong always wrong.* Life consists of change and development; new issues and new conditions demand the modification of old ideas and old formulas. It is only the little-minded who cannot adapt themselves to circumstances; the great are continually growing and changing. Mr. Asquith and his colleagues *must* be ready to correct the mistakes they have made in the past if they would retain their position as leaders of their party.

In the second place it is argued that Woman Suffrage cannot be granted now while revolution is rampant, lest haply the concession should be accounted a triumph for intimidation. It is in this spirit that all the stupidest wars in history have been waged. It was in this spirit that Pharaoh drowned himself in the Red Sea, that Charles I. lost his crown and his head, that George III. lost us the colonies of America. It is a spirit which has been condemned by all the greatest statesmen of history, and has been specifically repudiated by a member of the present Government—Lord Morley—in his dealings with India.

What were those who endorse this argument doing in 1910 and 1911 when all militant agitation was suspended and a truce declared to give the Government a chance of "saving its face"? And what would they do to-morrow if everything except constitutional agitation were renounced? Would they not say: "Now there is nothing further to fear; the agitation has died down; we can afford to forget the women and their futile demand"?

No! There is no time like the present for doing justice. Here and now let Liberals be Liberal. Coercion can be left to reactionaries and to fools.

THE COPING-STONE TO THE CONSTITUTION

Extracts from a Speech by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence Delivered at the Philosophical Hall, Leeds

The first misapprehension which exists in the minds of a great many people about the Votes for Women movement is that it is primarily and essentially a women's movement. It is no such thing. It is essentially a movement for human liberty—(Hear, hear)—and human liberty is a sexless ideal; it is an ideal that is as vital to men as it is to women. I want you to think of the present agitation as the very last development of the great movement for human liberty that has been engaging civilisation, and especially the civilisation of our own country, for the last hundred years. A hundred years ago there were four great classes of people that stood outside the franchise. The working-men of the country were excluded from citizenship by reason of class; the Jews by reason of race; the Roman Catholics because of religious faith; and the whole of the womanhood of the country was excluded by reason of sex. To-day there is only one great section of the public that is still excluded from the human commonwealth, that is the women. That is the one barrier that still exists—the barrier of sex; sweep away that last remaining barrier, and you will have completed your great work for the establishment of human liberty; you will have put the coping-stone to the edifice of a free Constitution.

Now, why have men fought and toiled and struggled in the past for franchise rights, and why is it that women are fighting and toiling and working to-day? Why is it that only to-day there is announced in your newspapers a great national strike for the equalising of men's franchise rights in Belgium? Well, it is because of this: No section or class of the community can win attention to their wrongs, or redress of their grievances, until they have a voice in the counsels of their nation. I have only to ask you to remember the position in which working men were before they got the vote. Trades Unionism itself was illegal, and the first Trade Unionists were haled before the bar of justice just like the Suffragists have been, and were sentenced to imprisonment and transportation. It was only after men got the vote that they won the right to organise themselves for the protection of their wages. The same was true with regard to the Jews and the Catholics. As you all know, so oppressive were the laws and regulations concerning the Catholics that no man of the Roman Catholic faith was allowed by the law to possess a horse that was worth more than £5. (Laughter.) All these things were looked upon as natural, but when the Jews and Catholics got the vote, then they won equal rights of citizenship with their fellow-countrymen. The same thing is true with regard to the women to-day. Women want the vote because women, as a great section of the community they cannot win attention to their wrongs or redress of their special grievances until they are included in the franchise.

[As an illustration of the laws that press hardly upon women, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence dealt with the recent Insurance Act, which is fundamentally unjust to the womanhood of the industrial classes. The Insurance Act, she pointed out, was mainly an Act for providing a Contributory Old Age Pension and Permanent Invalid Pension for men, while leaving women who had supported themselves and their family with their unpaid direct labour as surely as men had supported themselves and their family by labour sold for cash, in their widowhood and premature old age with nothing but the sweated labour market or the workshop before them. She detailed the specific abandonment of the widow, in spite of the recommendation of the Trade Unions, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.]

The Effect of Political Weakness

Do you not see it must always be like this? Supposing you were a general, and supposing that on every side of you were enemies who were challenging your very existence. Supposing your life depended upon your breaking out of that ring; at what point would you choose to break out? Well, you need not be a great diplomatist to answer. You would rush the place where the ring is weakest. That is exactly what every politician does when he is bringing in a new Bill. It is the women of the country, who have no voice, who cannot take political vengeance, who cannot politically defend themselves; that is where the ring is weakest; it is their interests that have to be sacrificed, and it is for that reason that it is essential that this great section of the community should have a voice in the councils of the nation in order to defend its rights and its liberties.

After all, what is the difference between the man's point of view and the woman's point of view? I think that the man's point of view is concerned very largely with the organisation of our public life; with the organisation of industry, of commerce, of invention, of science, with the defence of the country, with the army and navy, and with the railways and with the development of machinery. Women see behind the factories, behind the machinery, behind the commerce, behind the ships, behind the army and navy, human beings, men and women and little children. What we are profoundly interested in is human life, and you know that is only natural because, you see, we pay for human life. (Applause.) There is not a person in this hall to-night—not a single man or woman in the world—whose life has not been purchased by some woman, in weariness, in agony, maybe at the cost of life itself; because we pay for it, we know the value of it. (Applause.) Can we say that the development and improvement of human life in this country has kept pace with the development of commerce, industry, invention, and all those outer forms of civilisation? No; we know it has not. That is just because the woman's point of view has not been expressed; and what we want to do is to call the women in to help the men, so that together they may present the whole point of view and develop not only the material resources, but the human resources of this country of ours.

The Use of Physical Force

And now I want to say one word about the appeal to physical force. I want to put to you, as fair-minded men and women, this consideration: It was never the women in this movement who chose the weapon of physical force. (Hear, hear; and applause.) The weapon of physical force was thrust upon them by the other side. In any contest it is the stronger antagonist that has it in his power to choose the weapon, and in this contest beween the women and the present Government it was the Government, or their adherents, who deliberately chose the weapon of physical force, because they felt that on the plane of physical force they had women at a disadvantage.

When women got tired of being ignored, when they went to a public meeting and put a question to the speaker in question time, because they waited and insisted upon replies they were assaulted with physical force. (Hear, hear.) After being violently assaulted, they, the victims of this violence, were brought before the magistrate; instead of the assaulters being punished, they, the victims, were thrown into prison. That is how the militant movement began. Who chose those weapons of physical force? The supporters of the Liberal Government who attacked those women. Later on, the Government, on their direct initiative, threw down the challenge of physical force, when they sent out the police to assault, without arresting, a deputation of honourable women of all classes who desired to present a petition to the Prime Minister, and when for a period of five or six hours these women were subjected to severe brutalities which resulted in the death of one and the permanent injury of many others. Supposing women had refused to take up this challenge; supposing they had said, "Well, if you meet me with argument I will fight you; if you will meet me with reason I will stand up to you; but if you are going to meet me by physical force I must give in"? What would have been the result? The enemies of this movement could always have fallen back upon physical force in order to crush the movement, and to bring back that condition of stagnation and silence which they had found so effective for fifty years. (Hear, hear.) I object, just as our Chairman does, to physical force. I think it is most degrading when physical force has to be used instead of the higher forces of reason and argument; but I consider that the women are absolustely justified—(loud applause)—for this very reason, that they did not choose physical force. Had they done so, I should have felt that they had injured their cause.

But you will say to me, "We agree that the earlier methods were right and were reasonable, but we are perfectly staggered at this campaign of arson and anarchy that is going on at present." I want to talk to you about that, too, and I consider that I am perfectly qualified to do so for this reason, that, personally, I am no more responsible for that campaign than anybody in this audience—that I consider it exceedingly grave and exceedingly deplorable, if you will—I can talk to you about it as one of yourselves, and I can show you that it is simply the effect of a cause, and I can show you who are the real fomenters of this present state of anarchy.

The Government have engineered this revolution by three methods. First of all, because they have broken the spirit of the Constitution of this country. Secondly, because they, through their representatives, have deliberately and specifically incited women to take this action; and, thirdly, because they have dealt with this question with trickery and fraud in a way that no other political question has ever been dealt with. (Applause.)

[Here the speaker gave a brief review of the events which have brought about the present state of affairs, including the incitements to violence and arson uttered by Mr. Hobhouse and others.]

Don't you see that if every means of constitutional agitation has been cut off, then there is nothing left but unconstitutional and revolutionary agitation? My friends, the Government have driven women to the wall; they have hunted the women of this country until at last, in despair, they have turned to give battle with all the courage of the mother creature at bay. (Applause.) Yes! that is the secret of this movement, and I want you to realise it. It is that a new idea has sprung into being; it is that a new consciousness of race motherhood has been evolved in the hearts of the mothers of the country. We have always possessed the deep instincts and the consciousness of individual motherhood, and always loved and cared for our own children, but within the last few years a new sense has arisen that individual motherhood is not enough, that race motherhood is wanted, too, and it is this new consciousness wedded to the human will that gives this movement the force of a new religious faith. That is why it cannot die. It is essentially and fundamentally a religious question. You will never subdue a new idea; you will never subdue a resurrection of the spirit like that which has taken place amongst the women of the country. (Applause.) But you may have tragedy; you may have to pay a great price; and I want to leave this picture before every one of you this evening, I want you to see this womanhood of the future that they are driving against the wall, turning in defence of this idea of race motherhood, turning at bay to do battle with all the organised forces of physical and material power, this pioneer womanhood so forsaken, so indomitable.

We must take sides

We have to take sides with one or the other, everyone of us in this room. Are we going to side with the hunted, or are we going to side with the hunter? If we side with the hunter it may be that we shall see the lives of the women going down in the struggle. We shall not see the idea killed, because that has got a greater life than any material forces that may be ranged against us, but we shall see human lives go down. Are we going to allow it? Are we going to let the last bitter price be paid? Are we not going, every one of us, in our own way, in our own measure, as our own consciences and our own sense of reason dictate, to side with the cause of truth and justice, and bring our degree of pressure, whatever it may be, to bear upon the forces of injustice and tyranny, to put an end to this cruel and horrible sport—this cruel and horrible battle?

I make an appeal to all men and women here to take their stand and play their part in this great human drama going on in this country, and I base this appeal on three things. First of all, because of your faith in human liberty, because of the great traditions of our race and our country, because we must complete the story of the great struggle for freedom which has gone on in our country—for that reason I appeal to you to take your stand and play your part.

Secondly, because of compassion. For the sake of the most helpless, miserable, and oppressed; for the sake of the sweated women toiling from morning to night to wrest a desperate pittance for herself and family; for the sake of the poor girl driven by economic conditions to sell her very self on the streets; for the sake of the widow left at the end of a life of toil and self-sacrifice to face the workhouse; for the sake of the girls stolen away and sold in the horrible White Slave Traffic; for the sake of the little outraged children of whom we are hearing so much to-day—for the sake of compassion, if not for the sake of human liberty, come and take your stand in this great movement and play your part.

And, thirdly, because of the Divine call upon every individual, the Divine call exemplified to its perfection in the life of the Founder of our faith, the call to the individual to yield his life and his service in the deliverance and redemption and uplifting of the human race. By all those things I appeal to you.

Do not let us miss our chance, but let us rejoice that ours is this destiny of playing our part in this great human drama, and of doing our bit for the service of our great humanity.

SHALL WE FORGET?

Shall we forget, shall we forget, O God,
The soul's most sacred right of liberty,
Tho' we for ages were by man downtrod?
Shall we forget?

Shall we ignore the dire immensity
Of burdens under which we still must plod?
Shall we ignore false friends' duplicity
And bow beneath a cruel tyrant's rod?
Not while we hear one tortured woman's cry,
Not till we rest at peace beneath the sod,
Shall we forget.

Marguerite Pollard.

MASS MEETING AT THE ALBERT HALL

Strong Resolution Passed—£15,000 Raised—Immense Enthusiasm

The Women's Social and Political Union held a great demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall on April 10. The huge building was crowded by a most enthusiastic audience.

The following was the resolution before the meeting:—

"That this meeting proclaims its belief that the safety and progress of our Empire depend upon the political enfranchisement of its women citizens; condemns the dishonest and ignorant opposition offered by the Liberal Government to this great reform; insists upon the instant release of Mrs. Pankhurst and her fellow-prisoners, and the abandonment of the torture of forcible feeding and all other forms of coercion; demands the immediate introduction of a Government measure giving votes to women on the same terms as men. And finally, those assembled at this meeting declare their resolve never to surrender and never to submit, but to continue the present war of liberation until victory is achieved."

It was carried unanimously.

£15,000 was promised, a sum far in excess of all previous records.

In the absence of Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Drummond presided, and said:—"You are quite accustomed to changes. The Government thought they would perhaps stop this meeting, but though Miss Kenney is not here, we have others who step forward." (Cheers.) "I do not enjoy taking this chair to-night for one or two reasons. The person who should be in the chair to-night is our leader, Mrs. Pankhurst. I am ashamed as a British woman not to be able to tell you that she is released." (Cries of "Shame!")

Government Incitement

Continuing, Mrs. Drummond said she wanted to know if the Government were still going to continue inciting to the destruction of property? If so, the W.S.P.U. would be compelled to apply for warrants for their arrest. (Hear, hear.) Though she had no message to give them from Mrs. Pankhurst, her spirit sent them a message, and that was "Fight on."

"Now," said Mrs. Drummond, "the idea of arresting our leaders, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney, is, I presume, with the object of stopping militancy. It is through the persecution of the women members of this union, which I represent, that you will have the strengthening of the women and the growth of this great movement. In this hall to-night we are showing the so-called public opinion that 'the clock is going back.'" (Laughter.) "In our balance-sheet you will please note how the clock is going back in the W.S.P.U."

There were various forms of militancy; none were stronger than financial militancy, therefore the Union had been able to show by their balance-sheet how, during the last twelve months, they had strengthened the financial arm of militancy. (Cheers.)

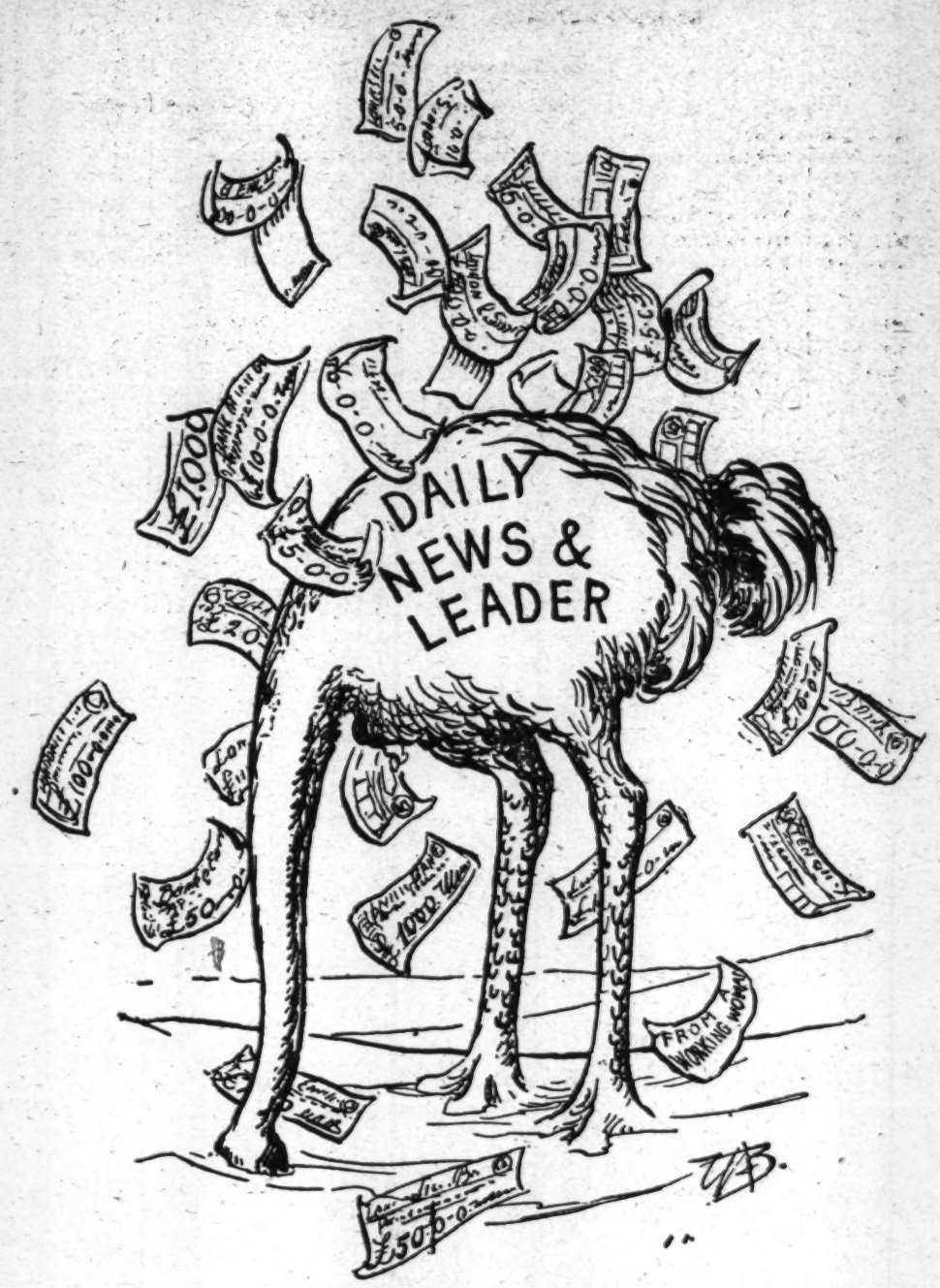
"Blacklegs of the Medical Profession"

"While we are going on in this determined fight, look at the opposition we are fighting. A sorry sight they are to-day—(laughter)— while you see woman after woman going into prison and coming out, just as Miss Emerson has done." ("Bravo" and cheers.) "Just as the other women who are inside fighting the blacklegs of the medical profession." (Hear, hear, and cheers.) "We are fighting so that the opposition are now in a corner, beaten like rats, ready to play up such measures against us as the 'Cat and Mouse' policy." (Hisses.) "Will that stop militancy?" ("No.") "A good job I did not say that, or they might arrest me." (Laughter and cheers.) "They need not waste their time passing any Bills of coercion for us, as it will not make any difference at all. The militancy of this movement has become like a hill-side on fire, beyond control, and no one can stop it—only the Liberal Government, by giving us votes for women." (Cheers.)

It was time, she said, that men, who protested against atrocities in other parts of the world, should demand two political heads at home instead of one. Mrs. Drummond then moved the resolution given above, and called upon Mr. George Lansbury to second it.

Mr. George Lansbury

Mr. George Lansbury, who had a reception lasting some moments, then addressed the meeting. He began by saying that no matter what happened to Mrs. Pankhurst or any other leaders, the movement would still go on. He asked the audience to give three cheers for Mrs. Pankhurst, standing, saying that he was sure the spirit of their cheering would reach her in her cell. (A verbatim report of his speech will be found on page 407.)



THE LIBERAL OSTRICH.

(Not a single mention of the Albert Hall Meeting was made in the "Daily News.")

At the close of Mr. Lansbury's speech, Mrs. Drummond said she wished to oblige the police, for she supposed they had sent a reporter to take down any statement which incited to riot. (Laughter and cheers.) She was going to read them a statement, and would tell them who the author of it was afterwards. But they must read the word "women" for "men," and for Ulster they must read England. (Laughter.) She quoted a statement, made by Mr. Bonar Law, and referred to by Mr. Lansbury in his speech, that if an attempt were made without the consent of the people of Ulster to force the Home Rule Bill through the House the people of Ulster would be justified in resisting by all means in their power—by force if necessary.

"A Marconigram"

"When I heard that Miss Annie Kenney had been arrested for inciting to riot," Mrs. Drummond proceeded, "I decided that I would travel 'incog.'" (Laughter and cheers.) "So I did"—(laughter)—"and I do not know whether there may be someone at the door with a warrant for me. Very possibly; but I was like a Cabinet Minister,—no, I came in by a side door, not the back door"—(laughter)—"and that is why I am in Miss Kenney's place to-night"—(laughter and cheers)—"and perhaps some of the gentlemen will go out of their way to-night to find if I require bailing out after the meeting." (Laughter and cheers.) "We have decided to-night to give the Government an answer to the 'Cat and Mouse' Bill, and we are going to let them know by telegram." (A Voice: "Marconi.") "My friend, it would not be honest for women to dabble in Marconis." (Laughter.) "We are going to send this message to Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George." (Hisses.) "The telegram to Mr. Asquith would be: Please inform the House of Commons the suffragists' answer to the 'Cat and Mouse' Bill is the raising of—— I will leave you to fill in the amount."

£15,000 Raised!

Miss Georgina Brackenbury, in making an appeal for funds, said that that great meeting should show the futility of any attempt to crush this movement. (Hear, hear.) The powers of darkness plucked away their leaders one by one, but they only incited all the rest of the rank and file to greater action. (Hear, hear.) She had no doubt there was many a chuckle because Mrs. Pankhurst was not there that evening. "'This trial,' said a poor blind fool, 'must be brought home to Mrs. Pankhurst.' It was brought home to every woman in the movement," Miss Brackenbury commented, "and it has been the greatest incitement we have yet had to militancy." (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

Referring to the *Standard*, she said: "It talks greedily of the funds. Let it see to-night funds which will make its eyes bulge out with greediness."

The names of the contributions already promised were then read out. These, with the promises that followed, included one of £1,200 from Miss Janie Allan and one of £1,000 from Mrs. Douglas Hamilton. A number of donations were sent up with such messages as "The result of the *Standard* leader" and "An answer to the *Standard* from a Putney sympathiser," Miss Brackenbury remarking, "We owe the *Standard* a debt of gratitude."

When £14,600 had been promised, the box collection was taken, as a result of which £150 was all that was needed to make up £15,000. On an appeal from Mrs. Drummond, the deficit was made up at once by the audience.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

MR. LANSBURY'S SPEECH

The proceedings which have since been taken against Mr. Lansbury (see page 407) were anticipated by the *Manchester Guardian*, which said last Monday that "the authorities have under consideration the question of proceeding against Mr. George Lansbury in connection with a speech delivered in the Albert Hall on Thursday night. An official reporter was present at the meeting, and the legal advisers of the Home Office have before them his notes of the speech with a view to determining how far it is an incitement within the meaning of the law."

Mr. Lansbury, interviewed on the subject in the *Daily Herald*, said: "If they are so foolish as to start another attack on freedom of speech it is not I that will be sorry, but they themselves. I hold that a Government which singles out women for prosecution in this way, and leaves highly-placed treason-mongers to go free, deserves the contempt of all decent people. Anyhow, decent men and women, whether agreeing with militants or not, will most assuredly agree that, if the Government did its duty against rich men as it does against women, the Duke of Abercorn, Sir E. Carson, F. E. Smith, and Bonar Law would all of them be in the dock beside Annie Kenney to answer to the charge of high treason."

YORKSHIRE WOMEN LIBERALS

On Thursday in last week, the twentieth Conference of the Yorkshire Council of Women Liberal Associations took place at Ilkley. The official resolution, which was moved by Mrs. C. A. V. Conybeare, was passed by a small majority, and expressed regret at the Speaker's ruling against the Woman Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill, declared that the promised facilities for a private member's Bill on the subject were not equivalent to the pledge previously given by Mr. Asquith in 1911, but accepted the promise, and urged Mr. Asquith to adopt as a Government measure the private member's Bill now before the House should it pass a second reading.

The speaker said they did not know what Mr. Asquith's answer would be, but they would never get any reform if they were always afraid that they would be refused if they asked for it. How could they expect to get the suffrage at this juncture unless they asked for it in the most pressing way possible? (Applause.) She, like every other woman in that room, felt the uttermost wretchedness when she thought of all that was going on among the militant suffragists. They were sometimes disheartened, and some of them were weak enough to feel almost afraid to go on advocating women's suffrage as earnestly as before, because of the danger of being identified with some action they abhorred. But she was driven to the conclusion that the more they disagreed with those tactics the more they were bound to do everything in their power to press their cause forward. (Applause.)

A Doormat Amendment

An amendment, deploring the Speaker's ruling, but gladly accepting the promise of facilities for a private member's Bill, was moved by Lady Godwin, who said that Woman Suffrage was not to everybody an immensely pressing need. "We are not a Suffrage meeting," she added, "many of us are anti-Suffragists." (Shame, and hear, hear.) Women were not sufficiently educated for the franchise. ("Nonsense.") Mrs. Ingham (Shipley) seconded the amendment, remarking that a private member's Bill taken up by the Government would be, if not impossible, at any rate a political immorality. (Laughter and "Nonsense.")

A Remarkable Speech

Lady Byles, supporting the amendment, said that when she first read the resolution she rubbed her eyes. She felt that there was in it some slur on the Prime Minister—("No, no," and "Nonsense")—and that it asked for something which they could not get, and which they really ought not to have. She would not like to see the measure taken up by a Government which was so divided on the question, especially when Mr. Asquith would look upon it as a political disaster. The fact that there was such a divergence of opinion, not only in the country, but in the Liberal ranks, showed that the question was not ripe for settlement. The setback caused by the anarchy of the militants made her feel that to demand a Government measure now was like crying for the moon. The Liberal party in the House would make it impossible for the Government to take up the bill, because the division of opinion among the members was growing more pronounced. ("Shame.")

Why Not Put Back the Clock?

Let women fulfil the duty that lay to their hand in municipal, education, and Poor Law administration, and so bring the question of their enfranchisement to the position which it held before 1906. The only way to get the vote was to convince men that they were ready for it, and they would not do that by putting their fists in the faces of men. (Applause.) The amendment was thrown out and the resolution carried.

MISS ANNIE KENNEY

An interesting letter from Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* last Saturday concerning the arrest of Miss Annie Kenney, whose case has been remanded until April 22. The writer says:—

"If anyone interested in the case will refer to the 'English Historical Review' of April, 1912, they will find an article by Mr. Crum on this Act of 340 Ed. III., which conclusively proves that the magistrates have no such powers as are here claimed for them.

"The Act was drafted in French, and in the 'Statutes of the Realm' the Act is set out in parallel columns in French and English. The French version gives the magistrates power over such as were *not* disorderly or dangerous. (In those days security would hardly have been asked from disorderly people; they were suspended permanently from a convenient tree.) The English version mistranslates the French—inserts or omits a 'not,' I forget which—and has been acted on very conveniently 'since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.' Whether, however, a power based on a mistranslation could resist a writ of *habeas corpus* I am not lawyer enough to say. In these matters I am only an antiquary."

THE REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGN

DIARY OF EVENTS

Thursday, April 10.—Burning of haystack at Woolaton, Nottingham, on Wednesday, reported in papers; thought to have been done by Suffragists, as copy of *The Suffragette* found near.

Friday, April 11.—Plate glass window in doorway of Longley Golf Club House, Huddersfield, broken; Suffragists suspected.

Pavilion, Nevill County Cricket Ground, Tunbridge Wells, destroyed by fire; damage estimated at £1,500. Attributed to Suffragists as copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN and photograph of Mrs. Pankhurst found near.

Two windows of the *Standard* Office, Shoe Lane, broken, as protest against paper's recent leading articles; one arrest, no charge brought.

Three fire alarms at Ilford disconnected.

Saturday, April 12.—Release on licence of Mrs. Pankhurst.

Fire at Shipcote Council Schools, Gateshead-on-Tyne, attributed to Suffragists, as label found inscribed "We are in earnest. For all damage see Asquith. Release Mrs. Pankhurst." Damage estimated at £50.

Mr. Birrell present at afternoon performance of "The Great Adventure" at the Kingsway Theatre. At the close of performance Suffragist asked him, "Why don't you resign from this Government? How can an honourable man be a member of a Government that behaves in this way? You know perfectly well the Cat and Mouse Bill is absolutely useless." Incident caused surprise, but there were cries of "Bravo!"

Sunday, April 13. — Killarney Golf Pavilion badly damaged by fire; Suffragists suspected, though no clue found.

Monday, April 14.—Attacks on pillar-boxes during week-end at Glasgow, Doncaster, and Newport (Mon.).

Monday, April 14. — Large quantity of turf destroyed at Bellahouston Bowling Greens, Glasgow; Suffragist literature found in enclosure.

Tuesday, April 15.—Seaside house of Mr. Arthur du Cros, M.P. for the district, destroyed by fire at Hastings; house, which was a very fine one, was unfurnished at the time. Suffragists suspected, as their literature was found in garden. Damage estimated at £5,000.

Telegraph and telephone wires cut on Great Western main line at Box, near Bath. No arrests.

Roof of St. Luke's Church, Abercarn, slightly injured; Suffragists suspected, as card found marked "Votes for Women." On Sunday paraffin found on floor of church, and previous Tuesday slight fire occurred.

Letter-box attacks at Waltham Cross and Sheffield.

RELEASED PRISONERS

Mrs. Pankhurst's release on licence is dealt with on page 410.

Mrs. Dove-Wilcox, Miss Grace Stuart, Miss Dorothy Barnes, and Miss Mary Richardson were released on April 10 (after we had gone to press) at the expiry of their sentences of one month, the two former for petitioning the King on his way to open Parliament and the two latter for breaking windows at the Home Office. As a protest against Mrs. Pankhurst's imprisonment all four women had refused food for six days, but had not been forcibly fed.

Miss Marjorie Masters was released on Monday, April 14, at the end of her sentence of one month's imprisonment for throwing a tin of green paint at a Home Office window. She had been hunger-striking, and had been forcibly fed practically the whole time.

Miss Isabel Irving, who was sentenced on April 5 to six months' hard labour for window breaking, was released on Saturday as a result of hunger striking. She had not been forcibly fed, as she was not considered strong enough. On Sunday afternoon she was very ill indeed, but it is hoped she is now on the road to recovery.

The release of Mrs. Miles and Miss Scholefield is expected shortly; they were sentenced to three months' imprisonment on February 7, but it is presumed they will be granted some remission.

MISS ELLA STEVENSON

It is stated that Miss Ella Stevenson, who has been in prison since March 5, and has been forcibly fed for some considerable time, is extremely ill.

BOMBS AND PRESS EXAGGERATION

In a London morning paper, on Thursday in last week, it was stated that the evening before, a passenger coach of a train from Waterloo arrived at Kingston-on-Thames in flames. The account went on to say that a canister was found among the debris, that an explosion had been heard, and that the outrage was alleged to be the work of militant Suffragists.

It is interesting, in view of the above account, to read in the *Surrey Comet* that the flames were easily extinguished, very little damage was done, the remains of a charred newspaper only had been found, and, concludes the account, "It seems probable that a passenger, on leaving the compartment at Norbiton, lighted his pipe and threw down the match without noticing the paper under the seat."

There was nothing, in any case, to connect the fire with the Suffragettes.

Another Bogus Bomb

Similarly, a great sensation was nursed in the Press concerning an alleged "bomb" found in a Vauxhall train on Tuesday night of last week. Attached to the tin canister in question was notepaper bearing the words, "More to come. Votes for Women. Give us the vote."

According to the *Morning Post*, the box was examined by experts, and "these authorities came to the conclusion that, while the machine might have done some damage had it exploded, it would have been slight. The cartridges were nearly all 'dummies.' The authorities think that the intention was to hoax the railway company and the public, and, if possible, to make a sensation among passengers on the line. The time and train were chosen with this view."

At the Bank of England

These revelations lead us to be sceptical of the third bomb discovery of the week—the harmless-looking milk-can found last Monday afternoon hanging on the railings outside the Bank of England, which, on examination, proved to contain about two ounces of gunpowder, some hairpins, and a small electric battery. It was handed over to the Home Office for examination.

The presence of the hairpins led to suspicion being placed on the militant Suffragists. There is no other evidence of their having been concerned in the matter.

Our scepticism is not decreased by the following communication from a news agency, which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* last Wednesday:—

"There is a strong presumption that the bomb discovered at the Bank of England was never intended to inflict serious injury, but was in the nature of a hoax. The militant Suffragists still adhere to their determination that outrages shall only take place at empty houses or under such circumstances as will involve no danger to human life. The explosion of a bomb at the Bank of England could not be attended with such certainty of immunity, and that of itself is sufficient to discredit the outrage theory, which is still further discredited by the state of the fuse and the small quantity of powder employed. Another consideration is that it is now known that the militant Suffragists decided some time ago to supplement their real outrages by a series of bogus ones designed to create the impression that great public buildings were in danger from fire or explosives. The alleged attempt to fire the British Museum some time ago was of the hoax character."

A VICAR DEFENDS THE MILITANTS

The Vicar of Dartmouth (the Rev. H. F. Tracey) defends Suffragist militancy in an article in his parish magazine, in the course of which he says:—

"Whilst England is alternately aghast or disgusted at the doings of the Suffragists, don't let it be forgotten that underneath all this extraordinary behaviour is a burning indignation at the wrongs under which their sex labour, and a heroic courage which will stop at nothing to bring home to the minds of the legislators of this country the absolute necessity of remedying them. To us easy-going men and women whose lives run smoothly, their methods seem mad and wicked. But even we may one day have to admit that, all other methods having failed, they deserve our admiration instead of execration. . . . Is it not true that England's neglect of her splendid working women is a scandal? Do you wonder that there exist women who with the wrongs of their sex burnt into their soul so far forget their ordinary courtesies of life and do and dare all to get these wrongs righted? I say again, we may live to applaud them."

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mrs. Ethel Beckett	Feb. 7	3 „
Mrs. Maud Brindley	„ „	5 „
Mrs. Marie Louisa Miles	„ „	3 „
Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield	„ „	3 „
†Miss Pleasance Pendred	Feb. 22	4 months
Miss Jane Short	„ „	6 „
†Miss Ella Stevenson	Mar. 5	9 „
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 months
Miss Margaret Llewhellin	Mar. 28	1 month
Miss Olive Hocken	April 4	4 months
†Miss Phyllis Brady	„ „	6 weeks
†Miss Milicent Dean	„ „	6 weeks
Miss Annie Bell	April 16	Remanded

In Wormwood Scrubbs Prison

†Mr. Hugh Franklin	Mar. 8	9 months

† Being forcibly fed.

MILITANT ACTION SINCE LAST JANUARY

The following list of incidents in the revolutionary campaign, since the end of January, has appeared in several papers this week:—

	Estimated damage.
Kew Gardens greenhouses raided	£600 to £800
Royal Scottish Museum, glass cases destroyed	£5
Regent's Park Pavilion burned down	£600 to £700
Explosion at Sir George Riddell's house	£700
Old Manchester golf house fired	£25
Kew Pavilion burned down (two arrests)	£100
Wimbledon Tennis Pavilion, attempt to fire (one arrest)	—
Roehampton Sports Club, attempt to fire (one arrest)	—
Saunderton Station burned down	£1,000
Wroxley Green Station burned down	£300
Heaton Club Pavilion burned down	£500 to £600
British Museum cloak-room fire	—
Cheam villa burned down	£1,800
Clifton colliery barge sunk	—
Lady White's house burned down	£4,000
Beckenham villa fired	£200 to £300
Weston golf house, &c., burned down	£120
Hampstead Garden Suburb house fired	£70
Streatham villa fired	£10
Roughwood house burned out	£2,000
Norwich Chase fired	£400
Four Hampstead Suburb houses fired (or attempt)	—
Potter's Bar villa fired	£5
Ayr Racecourse stand burned down	£2,000
Kelso Racecourse stand, alleged attempt to fire (two arrests)	—
Cardiff Race stand, attempt to fire	—
Dundee Tennis Club pavilion, attempt to fire	—
Hampstead Garden Suburb Free Church fired	£100
Oxted Station explosion	£20 to £30
Stockport railway carriages blown up	—
Dudley Castle, cannon fired	—
Tunbridge Wells cricket pavilion burned down	—

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, April 10.—At the North London Police Court, before Mr. Symmons, charged with obstruction and with using insulting words to a police inspector, Miss Annie Bell; remanded, bail allowed in £20.

At the Marlborough Police Court, before Mr. Mead, on a warrant, charged with having broken a window, been committed for trial and having failed to appear at the Sessions, Miss Margaret Haley; committed for trial.

At the London Sessions, before Mr. Wallace, K.C., Miss Margaret Haley; bound over, and to appear for judgment if called upon.

At the City Police Court, Manchester, before the Stipendiary Magistrate, charged with doing unlawful and malicious damage to the property of the Corporation (breaking the glass of thirteen pictures in the Art Gallery), Miss Annie Briggs, Mrs. Lilian Forrester, and Miss Evelyn Manesta; committed for trial, bail allowed.

Saturday, April 12.—At the Croydon Police Court, before Sir R. V. Barrow, charged with being suspected persons found near Mitcham with inflammable materials in their possession, Miss Phyllis Brady and Miss Milicent Dean, sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment in the second division.

Tuesday, April 15.—At the North London Police Court, before Mr. Hedderwick, charged with causing obstruction and using insulting words and behaviour to a police inspector. Miss Annie Bell; remanded in custody.

PRESS CRITICISMS

"THE OUTRAGETTE"

A new kind of woman has been created by the present Government, and the sooner she disappears the better for law and order and national dignity. This new woman is the Outragette. She began simply as one asking that women should have votes. Later she became a Suffragette and then a Militant, and finally, exasperated by the pettifogging evasions which are possible under our so-called system of representative government, she became an Outragette, a window-smasher, a rioter, wrecker, and incendiary. . . . The Liberal Party have always been ready to raise an outcry on behalf of oppressed peoples; and yet they refuse, through their leader, Mr. Asquith, to apply their own principles in the cause of the liberation of the millions of women who are the mothers, wives, and daughters of the world's greatest nation. Never was the utter insincerity of Liberalism made clearer, and never has its lip-loyalty to democracy had worse consequences than the transformation of decent English-women into the wild tribe of Outragettes. The smallest gleam of political insight would show our muddle-minded politicians that the cause of Votes for Women is irresistible despite the excesses of a section of its supporters. In the name of common sense and national honour, we ask the Government to try for once to put its belief in democracy to the test and confer on the women the full rights of citizenship.—**Weekly Despatch.**

"OUR OWN EXPERIENCE"

Belgium has none but well-wishers in this country, but it is plain to the onlooker that she cannot go on with her existing franchise anomalies, and we can tell her from our own experience that it is wise to yield betimes.—**Westminster Gazette.**

THE EARLY SUFFRAGETTE

"A letter posted at Paddington, London, on March 7, 1881, has just risen from its ashes," whoops a weekly paper. Were the Suffragettes at work in those days?—**Globe.**

WOMAN AS A POULTICE

When we realise the wealth of unthanked tenderness that women for ever shower over the aching places of the world, we shall be ready to accord their sex the vote. Militancy merely makes us forget it.—**Manchester Courier.**

"PROVERBIALLY"

The Briton is known to be proverbially chivalrous towards his women folk, and there is not the slightest doubt that the fanatics of the militant movement have traded upon this estimable masculine quality. But there is a limit to all things, and that limit has surely been reached in the case of the window smashers and incendiaries.—**Burton Daily Mail.**

THE SUFFRAGETTES' ALSATIA

The law has almost ceased to run in the Alsatia which the suffragettes have set up. More outrages have been committed, more houses burned, and more bombs left in empty railway trains. As for the prisoners, it is already clear that most of them will get early gaol deliveries.—**Nation.**

WHAT ABOUT AUSTRALIA?

England earns, and we cannot say that it does not deserve, the contempt of other countries, of Dominions Overseas, of Eastern people subject to its rule; all of whom may well be amazed at the spectacle of women preaching and practising rebellion with impunity.—**Standard.**

NOTHING SUCCEEDS LIKE ——!

The difference between fanaticism and heroism is largely a matter of success. If the leader of a rebellion against tradition or government succeeds in establishing the principle for which he commits outrages against the public calm, he is acclaimed by posterity as a hero and a martyr. If he fails, he is remembered, when at all, as a slightly deranged person who ought to have been put in a sanatorium and treated for neurasthenia. The present methods of Mrs. Pankhurst and her followers will be judged in the future by their results. The question is not one of ethics, but of efficiency. . . . . Posterity will have to do some nice judging.—**Collier's Weekly.**

IT'S THEIR MONEY WE WANT!

The steps taken to deal with this situation are not, we think, quite sufficient. It is possible, of course, that if all those who at the W.S.P.U. headquarters make no secret of the fact that their daily occupation is inciting to and organising crime were dealt with as Mrs. Pankhurst has now been, the criminal machinery would break down. That, however, would merely make martyrs of those arrested, and bring them in, what is the main object of their proceedings, a fresh inflow of money. The only radically effective course is to cut this inflow off. . . . At least on the financial side we see no wisdom in leniency: it is on that side that the main motive of militancy must be sought, and there alone it can be decisively countered. —**Daily Chronicle.**

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

April 14th

Mr. Snowden asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he can state the number of women arrested and number convicted for offences in connection with the Suffragette movement in each of the years 1907 to 1912 inclusive, and for the first three months of the present year?

Mr. McKenna: I would refer my hon. friend to the reply which I gave to the junior Member for Merthyr Tydvil on Monday last. As I have explained in reply to previous questions on this subject, I am not in a position to give further information. Arrests and convictions are not in ordinary course reported to the Home Office; and even in the case of persons received in prison, the connection with the Suffrage agitation is not necessarily known. I gave the figures so far as I was able for 1911 and 1912, and I gave reasons for saying that it would be quite impossible to give the figures for 1909.

Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware of the fact that Miss Margaret Llewhellin, a young girl who broke a window in the house of the Chief Government Whip at Downing Street on March 27 last, the damage amounting to 2s. 6d., was sentenced to pay 2s. 6d. damage, £2 2s. costs, and a fine of £2, making altogether £4 4s. 6d., with the alternative of a month's imprisonment, whilst Mr. W. E. Hills, who broke a window of Lincoln's Inn House, the Women's Social and Political Union offices, the damage also amounting to 2s. 6d., was merely fined 5s., with the alternative of seven days' imprisonment; whether the cases were tried by the same magistrate; and if he will, by remission of the sentence in the case of the woman, remove the apparent inequality of treatment?

Mr. McKenna: No sufficient reason for recommending a reduction of the sentence in the first-mentioned case is afforded by the fact that a lighter sentence was passed in another case of wilful damage. The amount of damage done is only one of many considerations that a magistrate takes into account in sentencing offenders of this class.

Mr. Keir Hardie: May I ask whether any instructions have been given to magistrates to discriminate against women prisoners convicted of certain offences?

Mr. McKenna: No, sir; no instructions of any kind have been given to the magistrates.

CREEPING UP!

After all, a national system [of education] must provide for girls as well as for boys, and for women as well as for men.—**Morning Post.**

WILLIAM OWEN

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PLURAL VOTING BILL

Mr. Snowden and Mr. Keir Hardie have both put down amendments to the Plural Voting Bill, calling upon the House to refuse to proceed further with the Bill prior to the enfranchisement of women. For a good part of Mr. Keir Hardie's amendment (which also embraces the electoral anomalies still existing in the case of men), the *Morning Post* says many Unionists would be quite ready to vote. The official Opposition amendment, according to the *Times*, "has not yet been drafted, but in substance it will propose that the House of Commons should refuse to proceed with a Bill which, while purporting to mitigate electoral anomalies, leaves greater anomalies uncorrected." Suffragists will wait with interest to hear the "official Opposition" definition of "greater electoral anomalies."

The Women's Freedom League, in a manifesto issued against the Plural Voting Bill, says:—

"The cynical truth is thrust at the public by Liberal Members of Parliament that no consideration must stand in the way of party interest, and that no pledge to the politically helpless is worth the expenditure of the words conveying it. The Women's Freedom League has long ago recognised this, and feels that the Liberal Party and their allies of the coalition have in every manner justified the low estimate entertained of their morality. Every great principle cherished by ardent lovers of Liberal tradition has been thrown to the winds in the continued betrayal of women; every Nationalist vaunt has been exposed as empty bombast on the part of intriguers who know neither liberty nor justice, and the disgrace of the Labour Party, in finding three members only with courage to interpret into action the resolutions of repeated conferences, is a sad homily on the demoralising influence of party politics. . . . . .

"Under the circumstances, therefore, the league points out that no alternative is left to Suffragists save to hamper and embarrass the Government at all points, to bring the law into contempt, and make its administration impossible, so long as citizen rights are denied to women."

PRESS VIEWS

A DOUBLE HYPOCRISY

The abortive Franchise Bill of last session was bad enough, in that it contained no specific proposal or binding promise to redress the monstrous anomalies of our system as regards the distribution of electoral power, but, at any rate, it was so far straightforward that it gave an opportunity to those Liberals who are pledged to votes for women to give expression to their views. The present Bill, from the point of view of such persons—and they are, we believe, a substantial majority of the Liberal Party—is thus a double hypocrisy. Not only does it ignore the system under which an English Member of Parliament represents a population no larger than that which in Ireland is represented by fourteen Members of Parliament, but it also, as we have said, ignores what the majority of Liberal members call—though we, of course, wholly disagree with them—the injustice to women. In a word, it picks out the one electoral anomaly which it would be an obvious party advantage to Liberals to remedy, and leaves the rest of Liberal shibboleths ignored.—**Spectator.**

WHAT WOULD MEN DO?

Quite apart from the very exceptional circumstances of the moment, any self-respecting woman must be indignant that Parliament should spend its time in amending the basis of the male franchise while refusing to end her humiliation. Were the position reversed, we are certain that the men who have introduced the Plural Voting Bill would be equally outraged. Let Mr. Pease and his Ministerial colleagues attempt to conceive a situation in which a Parliament of women, representing women only, brushed aside the claims of the unenfranchised male population, and calmly proceeded to amend the qualifications of women voters. Would they not be righteously indignant?—**Labour Leader.**

THE RIGHT VIEW OF THE BILL

The present Bill is clearly a makeshift, and considering the acknowledged needs of a much more comprehensive measure which shall redress not one anomaly and injustice only, but all, and without which no redistribution of seats ought to be thought of, the present imperfect and provisional measure can hardly be hailed with enthusiasm.—**Manchester Guardian.**

MINERS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The Scottish and Northumberland miners are pledged to support the rejection of any Bill which ignores the women, and, despite the opposition of Lancashire and Cheshire, Mr. Robert Smillie, the president of the Federation, thinks the hardy men of the North will carry the day. In any case, we wish them well in the stand they are making.—**Labour Leader.**

STRONG INDICTMENTS OF LIBERALISM

BY MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL

In a forcible letter, appearing in this week's *Nation*, Mr. Zangwill writes:—

It has been laxly assumed that any Liberal is free to vote for or against woman suffrage. As if Liberalism were made by the Liberal Whips! Hitherto Liberalism has been identified with the enlargement of liberty, with the transference of power from the original autocrat to ever-widening areas of society. Within the last two or three generations, millions of women, under pressure of economic forces, have, for good or ill, been thrust out of the home; simultaneously, there has been among women a great quickening of education, with an enhanced consciousness of social evils, which men have fostered, or at least failed to remedy. Hence the rise of what I have called an "intensive minority" of women—embracing practically every organised group of woman workers—which demands political expression, and demands it infinitely more keenly than the still unenfranchised section of the male population. For Liberalism to suppose that this further widening of the boundaries of human liberty is not peculiarly its business is for Liberalism to commit suicide.

It is not even a demand for a revolution, but for the recognition of the revolution that has already occurred: for the readjustment of the mechanism of the State to the facts of life. . . . Mr. Asquith, who talks of woman suffrage exactly as he did a generation ago, has brought forward only one reason against: that it would add to the electorate an emotional mass which would make it swing violently to and fro. This is merely the old Virgilian tag, writ large: *Varium et mutabile semper fœmina.* If the suffragettes teach us anything, it is that woman is only too mechanically rigid. . . . . .

As regards the suffragettes—whose most violent demand is only for the means of expressing themselves peacefully—their line of action is irrelevant to the issue, except in so far as it shows that some women value the enfranchisement of their sex more dearly than life, and that Government is literally impossible without the consent of the governed. Their sufferings cancel their sins, leaving, in my eyes, a balance for admiration. Equally beside the great issue is the question of Mr. Asquith's honour. At best he has blundered as one cannot imagine an old Parliamentary hand blundering in any question that concerned a section with votes. And in such a question, moreover, one cannot imagine the sympathetic majority of the Cabinet sticking to Asquith and office. If the suffragist Ministers can neither convert nor depose their chief, nor persuade him to bow like Bonar Law to a Referendum of his followers, then we can only look once more to the Conservative Party to conserve Liberalism.

BY MR. H. W. MASSINGHAM

Mr. H. W. Massingham concludes an article in the *Daily News* (April 14) on "The Claims of Liberalism," as follows:

These are some of the sources of our strength. What of our weakness? The first and the most serious is that the Government have shut the door on the largest, the most generous, the most attractive, and the most useful of all possible measures of political enfranchisement. We have almost left woman suffrage to the Tories; that is to say, we hold our hands helplessly while our wiser and shrewder opponents proceed to an enfranchisement of property conducted in the name of an enfranchisement of sex. Because of that refusal we endanger social order. We fly to coercion. We cast aside a great mass of intelligence, enthusiasm, honest and capable purpose; the most splendid recruitment of the modern State. What folly! What a tragedy of errors!

Finally we have all the ill consequences of a long spell of office. The party is rather tired. It is suffering for the moment from the consequences of an error of judgment in its most popular leader, an error which was not originally his, but which he alone, by frank, generous, and honourable amends, can set right.

WHEN IS A LIBERAL NOT A LIBERAL?

Apparently, when he is a member of the National Liberal Club, for in that haunt of official Liberalism the following resolution was carried last Monday evening by 52 votes to 34:—

"That it is not desirable in the best interests of the Empire to grant the suffrage to women while the present disorder continues."

A Liberal, who must have strayed into the Club by mistake, wanted to move an amendment, calling upon Liberal M.P.'s to vote as they had promised to do; but was ruled out of order. It is only in order, in the N.L.C., to move resolutions against those who are crying out to Liberal politicians to put Liberal principles into practice.

AUSTRALIAN WOMEN AND MR. HARCOURT

At a meeting of the Women's Political Association (Melbourne), on March 3, the following resolution was passed:—

"That this association again protests against the anti-Suffrage propaganda of Mr. Lewis Harcourt, and against the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies being given to a man who has such a low opinion of women."

CORRESPONDENCE

THE DECLINE OF "CHIVALRY"
Charles Lamb's Views

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—We women are constantly being told that male chivalry is declining because of the militancy of the Suffragettes. It is difficult to make these critics understand that "chivalry" has never yet existed, nor can be brought into being whilst sex subjection survives. Having occasion to read up Charles Lamb, I came across the following, which I thought might interest your readers:—

"We men are pleased to compliment ourselves on a deferential respect which we are supposed to pay to females, as females. I shall believe that this principle actuates our conduct when more than one-half of the drudgery and coarse servitude of the world shall cease to be performed by women. Until this day comes I shall never believe this boasted point to be anything more than a conventional fiction. I shall believe it to be something more than a name when a well-dressed gentleman in a well-dressed company can advert to the topic of female old age without exciting, and intending to excite, a sneer, and when the phrase, 'antiquated virginity' shall raise immediate offence in man, or woman, that shall hear them spoken."

Charles Lamb then goes on to mention the most chivalrous man he ever knew, and traces the birth of that chivalry to the attitude of the woman he loved. "It was during their short courtship," he told me, "that he had one day been treating his fiancée with a profusion of gallantries—to which kind of thing she had hitherto manifested no repugnance—but in this instance with no effect. When he ventured, on the following day, to expostulate with her on her coldness of yesterday, she informed him that a few minutes previous to his compliments she had overheard him, by accident, in rather rough language rating a young woman who had not brought home his cravats quite to the appointed time, and she thought to herself, 'I can have the finest speeches from the mouth of this very fine gentleman, but if I had been that poor girl, sitting up half the night maybe to get those cravats ready, what sort of compliments should I have received then? I was therefore determined not to accept any fine speeches to the compromise of that sex, the belonging to which was after all my strongest claim and title to them.'"

Says Charles Lamb to this—"I wish the whole female world would entertain the same notion of these things. Then we should see something of true chivalry and no longer witness the anomaly of the same man—a pattern of true politeness to a wife—of cold contempt or rudeness to a sister, and the despiser of his 'maiden aunt.'"—Yours, &c.

NELLIE BEST.

15, Elm Terrace, Bishop Auckland.

FOURTH CENTURY SUFFRAGETTES

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Perhaps this fourth century story which has just been sent me may interest your readers.

"Ephraem the Syrian, when riding towards the town of Edessa, saw some women washing clothes. The women turned and looked at Ephraem.

"'Women, be not so bold,' he said, 'be modest, and look on the ground.'

"'Nay,' replied the women. 'It is fit for man alone to look on the ground; for out of the dust of it was he made, but woman can gaze on man, for out of his side was she taken.'

"Ephraem replied, 'If such is the wisdom of the women of Edessa, how great must be that of its men!'"—Yours, &c.,

A. M. ROLLESTON.

22, Waterloo Crescent, Dover.

"WOMEN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT"

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In her article in VOTES FOR WOMEN of March 21, Mrs. Annie Levy claims to prove that in Old Testament times women were in a better position as regards their equality with men than they are at present, and quotes in proof of her assertion the cases of:

1. The daughters of Zelophehad (Num. 27). These women asked that, their father having died without a son, they should succeed to his property. Their request was granted, but there is nothing to indicate that if a direct male heir had existed they would have shared equally or at all. A parallel instance in modern times is that of Lord Roberts' daughters, upon whom—even without asking—were conferred the dignities which their brother unhappily did not live to enjoy. As the law now stands, in cases of unentailed property, if there is no heir, the daughters inherit.

2. Caleb's daughter. Josh. 15, 16. Does it not strike Mrs. Levy that the bestowal of Achsah in marriage by her father—presumably without consulting her wishes in the matter—was a far worse indignity than disability to hold property would have been? Surely Mrs. Levy cannot be contending that property is so much more worthy of consideration than persons? Apropos of this, I quote from page 350 of the same issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN. "It is thus apparent that an attempt at injury to property by a woman is regarded as a more serious offence than the actual injury of the persons of women by young hooligans."

In this passage the action of the law is held up to execration and ridicule, side by side, on the same page is Mrs. Levy's apparent refutation of these views.

3. Deborah. Judges 4 and 5. It is obvious that that the word "judge" in Biblical times bore a far more comprehensive meaning than in these days, and should rather be interpreted as "ruler." Even in the degenerate 19th and 20th centuries one hears of queens regnant. Capable as was this old-world judge and prophetess, she seems to have left militancy to Barak.

To avoid possible misunderstanding, may I say that oppression, injustice, cruelty to the weak and defenceless are as abhorrent to me as the most ardent Suffragette, but no cause is furthered by advancing ill-considered and unjustifiable arguments in its support. As Mrs. Levy likes to go back very early times for her data, may I draw her attention to Gen. iii. 16?—Yours, &c.,

(Mrs.) M. C. MCKENNA.

6, Carlisle Terrace, Plymouth.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—May I suggest a way of peacefully—and I hope effectually protesting against the general indifference shown towards Women's Suffrage by the clergy of all denominations? I propose that suffragists should cease from giving large donations in churches, but that they should place in the collecting boxes or plates small contributions—if they give anything at all—wrapped up in paper. On this should be written something of this sort: "Women now feel it their bounden duty to give all they can to the cause of Women's Suffrage." Or "I cannot afford more, owing to my subscriptions to Women's Suffrage societies," and so on. Then the money which otherwise would have been given should be posted without delay to a suffrage society. Might not some useful interest in our cause be stirred up in consequence of diminishing collections? In suggesting this course of action I have the ultimate welfare of the Church deeply at heart. We all realise that when women have a voice in the affairs of Church and State that voice will be raised in the furtherance of Christ's work on earth.—Yours, &c.,

M. K. HUGHES.

Wexford, March 31, 1913.

WEARING THE COLOURS

A correspondent sends us a letter she has received from a man friend whom, some little time ago, she presented with a purple, white, and green tie. He now sends her a request to send him two more, saying:—

"I have worn the one you gave me entirely out during the last three months, and I have tried to get them locally but cannot. The colours enable me to argue the question, and as I am in full sympathy with the Suffragette movement at the present moment, I feel more determined to use my influence on their behalf; and I want to wear the colours to get others to attack me on the subject, as I can then prove what a little they know about it, and at times I can make even men ashamed of their conduct towards those who have more courage than the men possess. I should like two ties sent, as I have had a little rough usage at times, and should like to have a reserve one, in case of it being taken away by brute force."

A TITLED HOOLIGAN

A correspondent writes from Aberdeen:

"Two of our local paper-sellers, one of them a very young girl, were selling suffrage papers outside a 'Public Morals Conference meeting' at Marischal College a few weeks ago, and urging upon the people who came out from the meeting that 'Votes for Women' is the true solution of the problem. A well-known titled gentleman came along, saw the girls, was apparently seized with rage at their mere presence, and as he passed struck the paper out of the hand of the younger girl, tearing it so as to render it unfit for sale, and pouring out very insulting remarks.

"Realising that the matter was, to some extent, a personal one, the ladies concerned gave their assailant an opportunity to apologise. No apology has, however, been forthcoming, and they think the matter should be made public, in order to demonstrate that while men with votes discuss the problem of Public Morality with comfort and formality within doors, voteless women, who urge at the doorstep that they, too, might have something effective to say on the matter, can be treated with contempt, and even with violence."

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The Women's Strike Committee at West Bromwich, where the first strike of girls at the works of Messrs. Kenricks took place last week.

(With acknowledgments to the "Daily Herald," in which this picture originally appeared.)

THE CHURCH AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

A SUFFRAGIST BISHOP

The Bishop of Hull spoke strongly on Woman Suffrage and its connection with the Church, at Liverpool, recently. "There is not a parish in Liverpool," he said, "the work of which would not collapse if there were no women workers, and it is little short of a scandal that in our church councils women who do the lion's share of the church's work should not have the privilege of a vote."

With regard to the political vote, important as it was, he said it must not occupy the whole horizon of their thoughts, but it was important. Their efforts, of course, required the formal sanction of law to put them into effect. If women had the franchise it would not be many years before they saw the last of the disgrace of the sweated industries, with all the untold social mischiefs that followed from it. There was also another subject which was a woman's question, viz., the shame, the reproach, and disgrace of the outcast women in their streets. Why in the name of justice and commonsense were women excluded from giving their voice on those matters, and exerting their influence by means of the Parliamentary vote? He did not care much about a lot of talk concerning women's rights, but he did care very much about women having the opportunity to give to the country and the Church those powers of service which they possessed, and he did not think they could give those powers of service effectively as long as they were excluded from their place in determining the counsels of the nation.

WOMEN IN THE CHURCHES

The Rev. N. Taft, an Episcopal clergyman, of Colorado Springs, was quoted recently in the Springfield (Mass.) *Weekly Republican* as having written the following interesting letter on congregations composed mainly of women:—

"May I call attention to a side of the question of Woman Suffrage that I have never seen alluded to; I mean the new value it gives to the women in the congregation? I live in a State where women have the vote, and I have come to believe most heartily in it, both as their right and as a matter of political wisdom. But quite aside from that, there is another thought worth considering. The majority of our congregations are composed of women. This is so everywhere in spite of every effort made to attract and hold the men. This is always a matter of disappointment to every earnest minister. We want to get the men to church for their own good, but in a State where there is equal suffrage the men do not hold the position of peculiar importance they do in places where they alone have the vote.

"I am sure that part of the desire we all have to get men to church has been because they were the effective instruments of progress and reform. In all those matters that are part of the social awakening of the Church, it seemed of such indirect use to preach to women, while the men who did the work at the polls so seldom could be reached. Under woman suffrage, a congregation of women becomes equally worth while. When you have before you a body of women who vote eagerly and intelligently, it is a matter of vital interest to speak of movements, principles, and reforms that will bring nearer the kingdom of God among men. Believe me, it means something to a preacher to know that every devoted woman before him has just as effective a vote as her husband or brother whose ear you seek to reach in vain.

"We still want the men; we need their help and judgment and the inspiration of their presence, but a congregation of women who have the vote does not give rise to the discouragement that must prevail in communities where they are still denied the suffrage. They no longer work chiefly by indirection, but are a direct force for righteousness that must be reckoned with."

A CATHOLIC PRESS VIEW

Whilst all the Catholic clergy consider the more aggressive demonstrations of the militant suffragist indefensible, woman suffrage has amongst them earnest advocates. Archbishop Redwood, of Wellington, New Zealand, recently attested in an interview that the women voters of that colony—amongst whom are Catholic nuns—have used the suffrage judiciously, and expressed the opinion that the movement for giving woman the vote in this country cannot be defeated. The Archbishop of San Francisco has also professed his belief in the right of woman to exercise the suffrage. The argument that traditional Catholic custom is against such a concession was recently condemned as utterly without force by the Rev. Joseph McMahon, Ph.D., in a lecture to the Catholic Library Association, New York. As far as there is a tradition, it is, he maintained, in favour of woman suffrage. In the Republics of the Middle Ages the officials of the communes were designated by lot, irrespective of sex, a usage that obtained in Tuscany until 1849, and in Lombardy until 1816. In Franche-Comté women who were landed proprietors assisted in the legislative councils, and, according to Laboulaye, "women during all the Middle Ages possesed entire civic capacity, and preserved it when married, no matter what their rank." Catholics may be opposed to or in favour of woman suffrage, but they cannot justly assert that the Church is against it.—**Catholic Times**

AN INTERESTING TABLE

An interesting table, published recently in Germany, gave the proportions per cent. of working women to the rest of the population in the chief countries in Europe, as follows:—Holland, 38; Sweden, 38.4; United States, 38.4; Norway, 39.5; Spain, 40; Great Britain, 45; Denmark, 45; Hungary 45.1; Germany, 45.5; Belgium, 46; Switzerland, 47; Italy, 50; Austria, 51.5; France, 53. Although France thus leads in the proportion of her women who are earning their living, America and Germany lead in the actual number of women so engaged. The figures for Russia (25 per cent.) are much lower than those warranted by the facts, as the industrial census on which they are based does not count married working women save as the family unit.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN AMERICA

21 as the Age of Consent

In Arizona, where the women have recently been enfranchised (see Votes for Women, Nov. 22, 1812), numerous Bills for the betterment of women and children have been introduced into the Legislature, including one to raise the age of consent to twenty-one years, a Mothers' Pension Bill, and one to establish an eight-hour day for women workers. The Legislature has also passed an emergency law, to take effect immediately, enabling the women to use their votes at all elections from this time onwards. They do not mean to wait a minute for the women's help in Arizona!

Suffrage Majority in Massachusetts

In Massachusetts, where the suffrage amendment to the Constitution has to secure a two-thirds majority in the Legislature before it can be submitted to a referendum of the electors, a large majority was gained for it on March 25, that only fell short of the required number by 11 votes. The result of the division, after a debate of three hours and a half, was 144 in favour, and 88 against. This is considered a real step forward by the Massachusetts suffragists.

In New Hampshire

The Suffrage Bill was defeated in the New Hampshire Legislature about the same date, but secured a larger number of supporters than ever before. A leading suffragist, Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, of Concord, interviewed on the subject by the *Woman's Journal*, raises an interesting point when she says: "It looks on the map" [of the United States] "as though we should have a solid West against a solid East, with all the political advantages in favour of the West. If the Eastern States do not come into line before the next Presidential election, the Western States, with the help of their women, can nominate and elect any man they choose as our chief representative."

Why Alaska was in a Hurry

A. S. B., in the *Woman's Journal*, gives an interesting reason for the fact that the first Bill passed by the first Legislature of Alaska was one to give votes to women. "It is said," says the writer, "that one reason for the unanimous vote in its favour was the wish of the Alaska legislators to attract more women to that territory. At present women are scarce, and the settlers need wives. Evidently they do not believe that the majority of women look upon the ballot as a burden to be abhorred. Or, perhaps, they think that women with such views would not make hardy and courageous wives suitable for pioneers."

POLICEWOMEN

At the instigation of the Women's Prison Association, Mr. Lewis introduced into the Lower House of the New York State, on March 14, a Bill empowering the police commissioner to appoint twenty women as members of the metropolitan police force. It proposes that the women shall be between the ages of thirty and forty-five, and shall be on duty in dancing halls, picture palaces, public parks, as well as being used in the streets for the special protection of women and children. A most excellent point in the Bill is that the policewomen shall receive the same wages as policemen. Many of America's most prominent women philanthropists are urging the adoption of the measure, while others have volunteered their services. Mrs. Joseph Bowen and four other wealthy Chicago women have offered themselves to the Mayor for duty as constables; they suggest a uniform consisting of a long blue coat with brass buttons, blue felt hat, thick black gloves, and serviceable walking shoes. Both the Mayors of Chicago and Boston have given their approval to the scheme, and signified their hope that the Legislature would authorise it.

This is by no means the first attempt in America to inaugurate a system of policewomen. As we stated in Votes for Women on November 29, 1912, a petition was presented to the Mayor and Council of San Antonio, Texas, by six women of wealth and position, asking permission to join the police force; they declared they could obtain the signatures of 10,000 women to endorse their claim. Also, on December 6, we spoke of the valuable work being done by Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, the first policewoman of the United States, who now has two women colleagues in the police force of Los Angeles.

AMERICAN PRESS VIEWS

IN EVERY COUNTRY BUT ONE!

In every civilised country there is an active movement for woman suffrage. In every country but one the movement is wholly peaceful. Why is England the sole exception? Because England is the one country whose rulers have sought to hold back progress by the unfair application of Parliamentary red tape. The natural result is explosion. Seven times the Woman Suffrage Bill has passed its second reading, and seven times the opportunity to bring it up for third reading has been refused. The form that the indignation of the militants takes is to be regretted—though it does not compare in violence with the actions of men agitating for self-government, from the French Revolution down. The chief blame for all such excesses lies on those who have denied justice. Mrs. Pankhurst has courted arrest; she is arrested; but whatever punishment the government may mete out to her, it will be only an effort to deal with a symptom, while leaving the cause of the trouble untouched.—**A. S. B., in "The Woman's Journal" (Boston).**

A CALIFORNIAN MILITANT

I was going on in this paragraph to tell you about some of these delightful maiden ladies we have met in our wanderings up and down Methodism . . . when there dropped into my lap like a bombshell a cutting sent to me from a Californian paper. If only for the sake of contrast, and to bring you back to something real and tangible, here it is:

The women of England—ought to smash every window in the Empire, daub every official with tar from head to foot, break up every meeting, blockade every street, and spike the wheels of all governmental machinery till they get what they ought to have had from the beginning. They are not asking for a favour, but are demanding a right, and they are under no obligation to be timid or gentle in their demands. If England doesn't like it, let her overcome her John-Bull-headedness and do the fair thing by the women.—**Decima in the "Methodist Times."**

Photo by Paul Thompson.

The Cincinnati Garment Workers selling newspapers to help their New York sisters in the recent strike of blouse-makers

(With acknowledgments to "Life and Labour," in which this picture appeared in March, 1913.)

COMING EVENTS

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union are again holding a series of meetings in Wales, to-day (Friday), there will be meetings at Pontycymmer at 10 a.m. and 4 p.m., and on Saturday (the 19th) at Porthcawl, at 6 p.m.

"The Younger Generation" will be presented by the "Edward Terry" Dramatic Club, under the auspices of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, on Saturday, April 19, at 8 p.m. The play will be performed at the Cripplegate Theatre, Cripplegate Institute, Golden Lane, E.C. The proceeds will be devoted to the "William Ball" Fund. Tickets, price 4s. to 6d., can be obtained at the offices of the M.P.U., at W.S.P.U. shops and offices, or at the Hall.

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage will hold a meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, April 20, at 12 noon. Speakers, Mrs. Merivale Mayer and others. There will be an At Home at the Society's Offices on Tuesday, April 22, at 3 p.m., when Mrs. Pertwee will read a paper by Dr. T. Lambert on "Ibsen and Women."

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Eunice Murray will be the speakers at a meeting at the Athenæum, Glasgow, on Monday, April 21, at 8 p.m. The chair will be taken by Miss Constance Andrews.

The Actresses' Franchise League will hold the second of a series of lectures at their offices on Friday, April 25, at 5 p.m., when Mr. J. Cameron Grant will speak on "How Votes affect Wages." The League will hold a grand meeting at the Drury Lane Theatre on Friday, May 2 (by permission of Mr. Arthur Collins and Mr. Forbes Robertson), at 3 p.m. Lady Willoughby de Broke will be in the chair, and the speakers will include Miss Lena Ashwell, Miss Compton, Miss Gertrude Elliott, and Miss Eva Moore.

The newly-formed Oxford University branch of the Men's Political Union will hold its inaugural meeting at Oxford on Saturday, April 26. The speakers will be Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. Gerald Gould, and Mr. W. H. Nevinson. Old Oxford men desirous of attending the meeting are asked to communicate with the secretary, Harold Laski, New College, Oxford.

The Women's Tax Resistance League announce a public meeting at the Caxton Hall on Monday, April 28, at 8 p.m. The principal speakers will be Earl Russell and Mr. Israel Zangwill. Subject, "The Attitude taken up in regard to the Taxation of Married Women in the forthcoming Finance Bill."

The Suffrage Club announce a lecture on Tuesday, April 29, at 3.30, when the speakers will be Dr. Ede and George Montagu, Esq. Chair, Miss Gertrude Eaton. Subject, "Women and Children Criminals: the Need for Reform in our Penal System."

TAX RESISTANCE

The Women's Tax Resistance League report the sale of goods of three of their members. On April 14 Dr. Frances Ede and Dr. Amy Sheppard had property sold at Lisson Grove, Marylebone. There was subsequently a protest meeting in Hyde Park. On the same day silver plate and cutlery belonging to Miss Anstey, head of the Physical Training College, Erdington, Birmingham, were sold.

THE FEDERATED COUNCIL

Tax Resistance Adopted

The Federated Council of Suffrage Societies have passed the following resolution:—

"That the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies, recognising tax resistance as a constitutional principle, recommend its adoption as a means of supporting their demands for a Government measure of women's suffrage."

SUFFRAGIST CHURCHWOMEN'S PROTEST

We are asked to announce that the second instalment of signatures to the above protest has been sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to request that the further signatures of those interested in the protest should be sent as soon as possible to the Hon. Secretary, Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee, 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W., who will also supply all particulars relating to the protest.

THE "STANDARD" (WOMEN'S PLATFORM)

We are asked by Mr. Frank R. Cana to say that he is no longer responsible for the conduct of the "Woman's Platform" of the *Standard*.

MR. BARNES, M.P., AND COERCION BILL

Six Suffragists, four women and two men, heckled Mr. Barnes, M.P., severely at Bournemouth last Sunday evening, where he spoke at a meeting convened by the local Co-operative Society. A woman and a man were ejected almost at once for interrupting the speaker with questions concerning Woman Suffrage, upon which Mr. Barnes said he did not wish the women turned out, but if there were any more "emotional male fools" present he hoped they would disclose themselves at once. Asked for a definite statement on the subject, Mr. Barnes promised, if the chairman allowed it, to answer later any questions arising out of his speech. Two women naturally asked at once, "Will the chairman allow it?" and "Will the question arise?" while a third reminded him that women helped to pay his salary, and asked why he had not voted against the Cat and Mouse Bill? One of these, a co-operator, was next ejected, and the remaining two women were asked if they would consent to wait. They replied, No—the question was too urgent; and asked again if it would arise out of the speech. Someone on the platform answered "No," and an old gentleman said there would be no peace until—(women got the vote? Not a bit of it!)—these ladies were ejected. All the interrupters were finally removed, and Mr. Barnes was thus enabled to make a speech out of which nothing of vital importance need "arise."

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—GRAVE SITUATION"

The current number of the *Christian Commonwealth* greets us with the above words, which are a sufficient indication that one weekly paper at least realises the very grave position that has been reached in the struggle between the women and the Government. Besides a great deal of Suffrage news, the *Christian Commonwealth* contains this week a strong editorial on the "Grave Situation," and some plain speaking about the Cat and Mouse Bill and other political subterfuges for evading the main issue.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotneby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
43, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
135, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation,
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
52, New Bond Street, W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

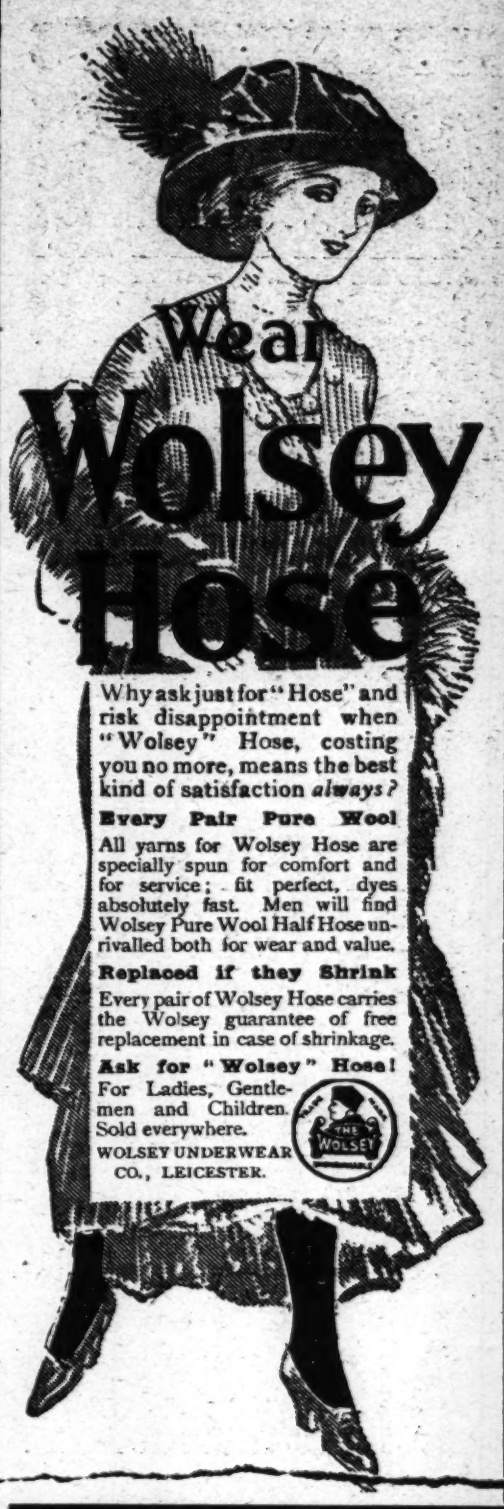
Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.



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